LUCIAN'S SCIENCE FICTION NOVEL
TRUE HISTORIES

MNEMOSYNE

BIBLIOTHECA CLASSICA BATAVA

COLLEGERUNT

J.M. BREMER · L.F. JANSSEN · H. PINKSTER

H.W. PLEKET · C.J. RUIJGH · P.H. SCHRIJVERS

BIBLIOTHECAE FASCICULOS EDENDOS CURAVIT

C.J. RUIJGH, KLASSIEK SEMINARIUM, OUDE TURFMARKT 129, AMSTERDAM

SUPPLEMENTUM CENTESIMUM SEPTUAGESIMUM NONUM

ARISTOULA GEORGIADOU

AND

DAVID H.J. LARMOUR

LUCIAN'S SCIENCE FICTION NOVEL
TRUE HISTORIES

LUCIAN'S SCIENCE FICTION NOVEL *TRUE HISTORIES*

INTERPRETATION AND COMMENTARY

BY

ARISTOULA GEORGIADOU

AND

DAVID H.J. LARMOUR

BRILL
LEIDEN · BOSTON · KÖLN
1998

This book is printed on acid-free paper.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Georgiadou, Aristoula.
Lucian's science fiction novel, True histories : interpretation and commentary / by Aristoula Georgiadou and David H.J.Larmour.
p. cm. — (Mnemosyne, bibliotheca classica Batava. Supplementum, ISSN 0169-8958 ; 179)
Includes bibliographical references (p.) and index.
ISBN 9004106677 (cloth : alk. paper)
1. Lucian, of Samosata. Vera historia. 2. Truthfulness and falsehood in literature. 3. Science fiction—History and criticism. 4. Latin fiction—History and criticism. 5. Philosophy, Ancient, in literature. I. Larmour, David H.J. (David Henry James), 1959– II. Title. III. Series.
PA4230.V483G46 1998
883'.01—dc21 98-11432
CIP

Die Deutsche Bibliothek – CIP-Einheitsaufnahme

[Mnemosyne / Supplementum]
Mnemosyne : bibliotheca classica Batava. Supplementum. – Leiden ; Boston ; Köln : Brill
Früher Schriftenreihe
Teilw. u.d.T.: Mnemosyne / Supplements
Reihe Supplementum zu: Mnemosyne
179. Georgiadou, Aristoula: Lucian's science fiction novel True histories. – 1998

Georgiadou, Aristoula:
Lucian's science fiction novel True histories : interpretation and commentary / by Aristoula Georgiadou and David H. J. Larmour. – Leiden ; Boston ; Köln : Brill, 1998
(Mnemosyne : Supplementum ; 179)
ISBN 90-04-10667-7

ISSN 0169-8958
ISBN 90 04 10667 7

© Copyright 1998 by Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, The Netherlands

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, translated, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior written permission from the publisher.

Authorization to photocopy items for internal or personal use is granted by Brill provided that the appropriate fees are paid directly to The Copyright Clearance Center, 222 Rosewood Drive, Suite 910 Danvers MA 01923, USA. Fees are subject to change.

PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS

To

Anabella Ioanna Nefele and Stratis

Betty and David S. Larmour

CONTENTS

Acknowledgements ix

Abbreviations xi

Introduction 1
I. Truth and Falsehood 1
1. Lucian 1
2. Dio and Celsus 3
II. Allegory and the Journey for Knowledge 5
1. Homer and the Allegorical Tradition 5
2. Numenius of Apamea 10
3. Journeys for Knowledge 13
III. Parody and Allusion 22
1. Poetry 23
2. Historiography and Story-telling 28
3. Philosophy 40
IV. The *Verae Historiae*, Satire and Science Fiction 44

Commentary 49
1. A Trip to the Moon 51
2. Inside the Whale 156
3. The Land of the Dead 178

Bibliography 233

General Index 247
Index of Greek Words 253

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We wish to thank the following individuals who offered valuable assistance, comments, suggestions or encouragement to one or both of us as we were writing this commentary: Barry Baldwin, Jacques Bompaire, Peder Christiansen, Stratis Gallopoulos, Bernhard Huss, Howard Jacobson, Richard Janko, Robert Johansen, Alexander Kosenina, Matthew Macleod, Gerard O'Daly, David Sansone, Russell Shone, Valeria Simoncini, John Thomas, Angeliki Tzanetou, Patrick Wynne, Roberto Zamboni and the anonymous reviewer of the manuscript; Julian Deahl and Job Lisman, editors of Brill, for including Lucian's "True Histories" in the Mnemosyne Supplement; also Gera van Bedaf for her editorial assistance.

We are grateful for the use of facilities in the Department of Classics at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. We also owe a special debt of gratitude to Mary Ellen Fryer for her technical and secretarial assistance and to Mardell O'Brien and Bruce Swann in the Classics Library for facilitating our research there.

We would also like to express our gratitude to Penn State University for Aristoula Georgiadou's Leave of Absence and Research Fellowship (RGSO) and to the Stratis Gallopoulos research foundation for its long-term financial and emotional commitment to this project; to Texas Tech University for David Larmour's Faculty Development Leave and research funding for this project; and to University College and the Institute of Classical Studies of London University for granting him access to their libraries.

Aristoula Georgiadou
David H.J. Larmour

ABBREVIATIONS

The *lemmata* in this commentary follow the 1972 Oxford Classical Text edition of the *Verae Historiae* by M.D. Macleod. For references to ancient authors, abbreviations generally follow those in Liddell and Scott's *A Greek English Lexikon* and the *Oxford Latin Dictionary*. The following abbreviations are also used:

D-K:	H. Diels and W. Kranz, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, 3 vols. 6th ed. Berlin 1951–2.
DG:	H. Diels, *Doxographi Graeci*. Berlin 1958.
FGrH:	F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*. Berlin and Leiden 1923–69.
FHG:	C. and T. Müller, *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*. Paris 1848–73.
G-L:	Georgiadou and Larmour.
G-P:	A.S.F. Gow, D.L. Page, *The Greek Anthology: Hellenistic Epigrams*, 2 vols. Cambridge 1965.
GGM:	C. Müller, *Geographi Graeci Minores*. Paris 1855–61.
L-P:	E. Lobel and D.L. Page, *Poetarum Lesbiorum Fragmenta*. Oxford 1955.
LSJ:	H.G. Liddell, R. Scott and H.S. Jones, *A Greek English Lexicon*. 9th ed. Rev. by H.S. Jones. With revised supplement by P.G.W. Clare and A.A. Thompson. Oxford 1996.
Orph. Fr.:	O. Kern, *Orphicorum Fragmenta*. Berlin 1963.
PCG:	R. Kassel and C. Austin, *Poetae Comici Graeci*. Berlin 1983–.
PG:	A. Giannini, *Paradoxographorum Graecorum Reliquiae*. Milan 1966.
PMG:	D.L. Page, *Poetae Melici Graeci*. Oxford 1962.
RE:	A. Pauly, G. Wissowa, W. Kroll, *Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*. Stuttgart 1890–1980.
RL:	W.H. Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*. Leipzig 1884–1925.
SSR:	G. Giannantoni, *Socratis et Socraticorum Reliquiae*, 4 vols. Naples 1990.
SVF:	H. von Arnim, *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta*. 4 vols. Leipzig 1903–24. Repr. Stuttgart 1964.

INTRODUCTION

I. *Truth and Falsehood*

1. *Lucian*

As the title *Verae Historiae*—the *True Histories* (ἀληθῆ διηγήματα)[1]—indicates, Lucian's main concern in this work is the relationship between truth and lies. In his Introduction (*VH* 1.2), he associates lying with the poets, historians[2] and philosophers who "wrote many marvellous stories" and says that his own work will allude to them in a manner which is not unamusing. Not wanting to be the only one without a share in the general mendacity, Lucian declares that he too has turned to lies. He has done so, however, freely admitting that nothing worth telling has happened to him, and, moreover, he is going to be much more sensible about his lies than the others: he will say *one* true thing, namely that he is a liar (1.4). This statement is reminiscent of Socrates' famous remark that he knew only one thing—namely, that he knew nothing (Plat. *Apol.* 21D, cf. Luc. *Herm.* 48)—and, in fact, the whole Introduction echoes the remarks made by Socrates at the beginning of the *Apology*.[3] Unlike Socrates, however, Lucian has no intention of telling the truth and, to make his point more clearly, adds that he will tell of things which he has neither seen nor experienced nor heard about, thereby parodying the professions of veracity by historians like Ctesias who, according to Photius (*Bibl.* 72, 49b39–50a3), claimed to be telling the unvarnished truth:

> while writing these things and telling myths, Ctesias says he is writing the absolute truth, claiming that sometimes he writes what he saw

---

[1] This is the best attested title (γ group manuscripts and Photius *Bibl.* 166); it appears to be an oxymoron, as Polybius defines διήγημα as "history without truth" (1.14.6). See Swanson (1976) espec. 228–30; Scarcella (1988).

[2] The term συγγραφεῖς appears to cover a wide range of (hi)story-writers, including travel-writers and paradoxographers, such as Iambulus who is mentioned in 1.3.

[3] There are other reminiscences of the *Apology* in the *VH*; for instance, Socrates' desire to meet famous writers and heroes, and to converse with them, in the Underworld (41A–C) is realized by the narrator on the Isle of the Blessed in the second book of the *VH* (2.17–20).

> himself and sometimes what he learned from eyewitnesses, while he omits many of these events and other more marvellous ones, so that he does not give the impression to those who have not seen them that he is writing incredible things.

The issue of truth and fiction in the three genres of poetry, historiography and philosophy is a frequent topic in the Lucianic corpus.[4] The importance of truthfulness in history-writing is stressed throughout the treatise *De Historia Conscribenda* (Πῶς δεῖ ἱστορίαν συγγράφειν).[5] This work, a series of prescriptions and proscriptions for the would-be writer of history, probably antedates the *VH* and has numerous connections with it.[6] It is quite reasonable to assume, in fact, that the *Hist.* lays the groundwork for the *VH*, by criticizing those very features of sensationalist and mendacious historians which are parodied in the fantastic narrative. Fantastic story-telling is also ridiculed in the *Toxaris*: the Scythian demands an oath of truthfulness from Mnesippus the Greek (11) but later, when he offers his own oath, it is so ridiculous that it can only suggest that a fictional narrative is coming (38).[7] The lies of the poets are of the same ilk as those of the historians: in *Philopseudes* 2, for instance, Lucian mentions Homer along with Ctesias and Herodotus as deceivers, not only of their contemporary listeners, but also of future generations, through the written lie, albeit one preserved in the most beautiful words and metres. In *Jupiter Tragoedus* 39, Homer is said to be a good poet, but like all the rest, he is not a truthful witness. One of the main points of the *Hist.*, in fact, is the need to keep poetry out of history: to bring the embellishments of poetry (myth and encomium and their hyperbolae) into history is ridiculous (8), although the historian may be permitted some poetic touches in his descriptions of, for instance, battles (45).[8]

While the *Hist.* connects the lies of the poets with the lies of the

---

[4] With the title we may compare a lost work by Plutarch (No. 124 in Lamprias' Catalogue) Πῶς κρίνομεν (κρινοῦμεν) τὴν ἀληθῆ ἱστορίαν, which may also have dealt with distinguishing truth from fiction in historical narratives. On this subject in general, see Starr (1968); Cizek (1975); Levet (1976); Rösler (1980); Gabba (1981); Ligota (1982); Weil (1987); Denyer (1991); Page (1991); Romm (1992) 172–214; Gill and Wiseman (1993); Pratt (1993), espec. 55–94; Grant (1995).

[5] See G-L (1994) 1462–70, and III.2 below.

[6] See G-L (1994) 1478–89.

[7] Anderson (1976c) 12–23, discusses the *Toxaris* and notes several similarities with the *VH* (see espec. 12–13).

[8] For a detailed discussion, see G-L (1994) 1453–9; also Funke (1986).

sensationalist historians, the *Philopseudes* draws a parallel between the lies of the poets and the fantastic falsehoods of the philosophers.[9] In this dialogue, Tychiades is the disbeliever who recounts the lies of the philosophers. He makes a distinction between, on the one hand, the lies which are told for useful reasons and are sometimes permissible (like those of Odysseus), and, on the other hand, those lies which are not redeemed by this excuse (1). The rest of the dialogue is devoted to making fun of the lies of the philosophers who come to the house of Eucrates—a Peripatetic, a Platonist, a Stoic, an Academic and a Pythagorean.

In the *VH*, Lucian brings together the various strands of his thought on the subject of truth and lies. He sets out to make fun of the extravagant fictions of poets, historians and philosophers alike, and does so in a narrative which manages to blend fact and fiction, and the incredible with the credible, so successfully that the dividing line between truth and lies is no longer clear. The *VH* is, at the same time, a demonstration of how to recognize lies and of how to make them convincing. The authorial voice, speaking in the Introduction, emphasizes the untruthfulness of what follows, while the narratorial voice which tells the story strives to make it seem believable. By setting up this tension at the beginning, Lucian has exemplified the way in which the true and the false are constantly threatening to coalesce. The reader is hard pressed to keep the authorial voice from being subsumed into the narratorial voice (one is continually tempted to call the narrator "Lucian"), just as it is difficult to keep a grasp of the distinction between true and false when reading the works of the poets, historians and philosophers. The author is finally identified with the narrator within the story in the couplet written by Homer, carved on the inscription in *VH* 2.28. This signifies a disintegration of the boundary between the two voices similar to what happens in books 9–12 of the *Odyssey*.[10]

2. *Dio and Celsus*

Similar interest in truth and fiction marks the work of Dio of Prusa (Chrysostom), who died roughly around the time when Lucian was

---

[9] See J. Schwartz (1951); Anderson (1976c) 24–33.

[10] See Winkler (1985) ch. 6 "The Duplicities of *Auctor/Actor*," 135–79 for some Apuleian parallels.

born. It is probable that some elements in the *VH* were inspired by Dio's *Oration* 5, known as "The Libyan Myth": this begins with an introduction which explains that a myth can be used as a "parable of the existing and true", although such labour is not a promising undertaking (1). A myth of this kind is, however, saved from being a mere tale by having an edifying moral. Dio supposes that the first composers of myths created them as allegories and metaphors designed for an audience capable of understanding them properly (3). Both Lucian and Dio, then, are presenting a fictional narrative which has a purpose beyond that of mere entertainment. In each case, the audience is expected to understand a "truth" which is conveyed in the guise of lies. In *Orat.* 7, Dio offers a first-person account of an experience he had on the island of Euboea, after being shipwrecked there. He makes the claim that this actually happened to him and thus his report gains in apparent verisimilitude (1–3). Dio's text, however, creates much the same kind of ambiguity as the *VH*, since the dividing-line between fact and fiction is blurred.[11]

There is a similar interest in establishing fact and fiction in Celsus' *True Discourse*, which Bowersock[12] connects with Lucian's text, noting that both writers, being concerned with "the disappearance of traditional boundaries and markers between veracity and falsehood" (4), "proclaim truth even as they immerse themselves in fiction" and "attack fiction by creating fiction" (6). Celsus and Lucian follow similar strategies: the former concocts a fictional setting to launch his attack on the falsehoods of Christianity, the latter exposes the mendacity of his predecessors in the art of story-telling by drawing directly from them. The *VH* thus points to its own fictionality and, at the same time, through intertextual references, to the fictionality of the writings of those poets, historians and philosophers whom Lucian is ridiculing.

---

[11] Russell (1992) 1–13; Swain (1994). In *Orat.* 11, Dio turns to a topic which Lucian also found congenial, namely Homer's lack of veracity (in this case, the specific topic is his treatment of the Trojans). He comments that truth is bitter and disagreeable for the unintelligent, while falsehood is sweet and pleasant; this is why lies are so powerful. One recalls Lucian's picture of Odysseus feeding fabrications to the simple-minded Phaeacians (*VH* 1.3; cf. Dio, *Orat.* 11.17). On the connections between Lucian's Vine-women and Dio's Libyan women, see G-L (1997).

[12] Bowersock (1994) 2–7.

II. *Allegory and the Journey for Knowledge*

1. *Homer and the Allegorical Tradition*

Since the author himself asserts that the narrative "has been hinting at" (ᾔνικται) the targets of his criticism, the reader is invited to play an active role in going beyond the surface meaning of the text and discovering the truth which lies embedded in the fictional narrative. In particular, it is incumbent upon the reader to explore the significance of those details which are strikingly strange or odd (τὰ παραδοξότατα, καινά, ἀλλόκοτα), as they most likely indicate the presence of hidden meanings, in the form of parody (see III below) or allegory.[13] We shall suggest here that one interpretive key to the *VH* is to read the fantastic voyage allegorically, as a parody of the search for philosophical truth, with many of the bizarre creatures and incidents functioning as humorous allusions to philosophers and their theories. Allegory was well-established as a literary and philosophical technique before Lucian's day and was current at the time of the composition of the *VH*.[14] Lucian uses it in some of his other works: in the *prolalia Heracles*, for example, he offers an allegorical interpretation of a bizarre Celtic painting, in which the hero represents Eloquence. Heracles, as Lucian presents him, is strange and odd (πάνυ ἀλλόκοτον, 1; παραδοξότατον, ἀτοπώτατον, 3); by defamiliarizing his subject, Lucian engages the reader in the process both of interpreting the painting and of reinterpreting traditional representations of Heracles. In *Her.* 4, it is the word αἴνιγμα which points to the need for allegorical interpretation (λύσω τῆς γραφῆς τὸ αἴνιγμα). The related verb αἰνίττομαι, which is used in *VH* 1.2, means "hint

[13] Lamberton (1986) 20 points out that allegorical interpretations often arose from "an incoherent or otherwise acceptable statement" in a text and concludes that "an offensive surface is thus a hint that a secondary meaning lurks beyond". Cf. Pépin (1965) 252–6.

[14] See Buffière (1956); von Albrecht (1965); Lamberton (1986); David Dawson (1992). On allegory in general, see the surveys of Fletcher (1964); Honig (1966), espec. 19–31; on Greek allegory and allegoresis, see Allen (1970); Richardson (1975); Quilligan (1979); Bloomfield (1981); Whitman (1987); Madsen (1994); also the important articles by Cowan (1981), on Walter Benjamin's theory of allegory; Copeland and Melville (1991); Fineman (1991); and Kelley (1991). Lucian's text is not generally treated as allegory, but Fletcher (3) perceptively includes the *VH* in his introductory comments: "an allegorical mode of expression characterizes . . . encyclopedic epics containing *summas* of true and false learning, naturalistic muck-raking novels whose aim is to propagandize social change, imaginary voyages like Lucian's *The True History*, Swift's *Gulliver's Travels*. . . ."

at" or "indicate by means of symbols" and designates, in general, the secondary meaning of texts and myths. Heraclitus, for instance, in his *Homeric Allegories* 5.2, defines the term as follows: ὁ γὰρ ἄλλα μὲν ἀγορεύων τρόπος, ἕτερα δὲ ὧν λέγει σημαίνων, ἐπωνύμως ἀλληγορία καλεῖται. The word is an unmistakable signifier of the presence of allegorical meaning in the upcoming narrative.[15]

The narrative of the *VH* belongs to the genre of the journey. This is perhaps the most popular narrative form, stretching in an unbroken chain from Homer's *Odyssey* to Joyce's *Ulysses* and into the novels, films and television programmes of the present day.[16] The opportunities which the journey form provides for imaginative and fictional writing were apparent to Eratosthenes, who noted that Homer placed the wanderings of Odysseus in the Ocean, because that region was "easy to lie about" (εὐκατάψευστον).[17] The point has not been lost on modern writers: Edgar Allan Poe's *The Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym of Nantucket* similarly takes advantage of exotic locales in its record of a supposedly real voyage.[18] The physical, or outward, journey is also an obvious means of depicting a mental, inward journey and hence it has been used to convey all kinds of philosophical, psychological and spiritual quests. Every physical journey in literary texts—as well as in life, some might argue—is at the same time a mental journey. The revelatory character of the mental journey is memorably captured by Kavafy in his poem "Ithaca", which casts the Laestrygonians, Cyclopes and "angry Poseidon" as figments of our imagination. The poem ends as follows:

---

[15] On αἴνιγμα, see Lamberton (1986) 41, 118–19, 125 n. 122, 128, 151, 156; on αἰνίττομαι, he notes (48) that Philo follows the earlier tradition of Homeric commentary in relying heavily on this verb as he distinguishes between literal and allegorical meanings in his exegesis of Homer (see also 51, 65 n. 68, 125 n. 122, 151, 202). See Buffière (1956) 48–51 on αἴνιγμα and αἰνίττομαι, which imply more hidden meanings than ὑπόνοια (15–48). He also discusses the term σύμβολον, popular among the Pythagoreans (51–9), on which see also Müri (1931) and J.A. Coulter (1976) 41–68.

[16] The literature on this subject is of course vast; for the lunar voyage and Lucian's role in the English literary tradition, see Nicolson (1948), with large bibliography; there is also a copious bibliography on imaginary voyages in Gove (1961).

[17] Erat. ap. Strabo 1.2.19 (cf. 11.6.4). Romm (1992) 174 says that the literature of geography and exploration "opened a path for the most radical experiments in prose fiction ever attempted by ancient writers" and ends his discussion with a section on Lucian at 211–14.

[18] On the similarities between Poe's and Lucian's narratives, including the problematization of authorship, reading and of truth-telling in general, see Larmour (1997).

And if you find her poor, Ithaca won't have fooled you.
Wise as you will have become, so full of experience,
you will have understood by then what these Ithacas mean.[19]

The reader of the *Odyssey* is taken on a metaphysical journey, discovering "order" at the conclusion of the epic in contrast to the "disorder" at its opening. The continual confrontations and battles—physical, verbal and emotional—inevitably take on a symbolic colouring as the hero makes his way forward. Such a text naturally lends itself to allegorical readings and this approach was promoted by the Stoic philosopher Crates of Mallos, among others.[20] Plato indicates that Homer's text was being taught "in allegories" (*Rep.* 378D) in his day.[21] The collection of allegorical readings of Homer preserved in the *Homeric Allegories* of Heraclitus from the first or second century CE demonstrates the persistence of the phenomenon into Lucian's era, while Porphyry's *On the Cave of the Nymphs* shows that it continued at least to the end of the 3rd century. At the end of this essay he says: "I do not think Numenius and his friends were off the track in thinking that, for Homer, Odysseus in the *Odyssey* was the symbol of man passing through the successive stages of γένεσις and so being restored to his place among those beyond all wavecrash and 'ignorant of the sea'" (34 [79]).[22] For him, the sea in its various manifestations is, like the cave, a symbol of the material world. Lucian's narrative both embodies and parodies many elements of the tradition of allegorical interpretation of the *Odyssey*: Odysseus' spiritual wanderings through successive stages of *genesis* are paralleled by the major stages in the narrator's voyage: the Moon, the Whale and the Land of the Dead.[23]

---

[19] Cavafy (1992) 36–7. Fineman (1991) 18–19 observes that allegory has a formal affinity with obsessional neurosis, through its search for the lost origin.

[20] Wehrli (1928); Buffière (1956); Stanford (1968) 125–7; Lamberton (1986); Porter (1992); Romm (1992) 179–80; 188–90; Long (1996) 58–84.

[21] On Plato's attitude to allegorical interpretation, see Tate (1929–30).

[22] See Lamberton (1983) 39 and his introductory comments, 7. Cf. Heracl. *Hom. All.* 70; Max. Tyr. *Orat.* 26.5–6. On interpretations of Odysseus and his wanderings in moral and mystical ways by philosophers and allegorists, see Buffière (1956) 365–91; see also 66–84 (ancient sources); 123–36 (before the Stoics); 137–54 (the Stoics); 393–97 (Neoplatonists and Neopythagoreans); and 410–18 (the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* as mystical poems). Lamberton (1992) surveys Neoplatonic interpretations of Homer. On Numenius and Porphyry, see Waszink (1965).

[23] On the Polyphemus episode and the blinding as an attempted suicide, see Porph. *De Antr.* 35 [80]; Lamberton (1983) 7 and 42 n. 28; (1992) 128–9; Buffière (1956) 416. For Polyphemus as ὁ τοὺς λογισμοὺς ὑποκλωπῶν, see Heracl. *Hom. All.*

The *VH* is first and foremost a sea-voyage. The aim of the expedition is, as the narrator explains in 1.5, to discover the limits of the Ocean and the people who dwell on the other side. This is fulfilled at the end of the second book, when the voyagers reach the "other continent" (*VH* 2.47), although we are not given any details of this place, only a joking promise to continue the narrative in further books.[24] The sea-voyage as a search for philosophical truth was no doubt a stock idea: for instance, in Plato, *Alcibiades* 2.147A, Socrates says that if the state or the soul is to live in the right way, it must hold fast, just as the man who wishes to voyage safely does to the helmsman. In the *VH*, likewise, the narrator secures for his expedition the best helmsman available (1.5).[25] The Demiurge is described as a helmsman for instance in *Politicus* 272E and the currency of this figure in Lucian's day is attested by its occurrence in fr. 18 of Numenius.[26] The emphasis placed on the choosing of the helmsman at the beginning of the journey in the *VH*, and his reappearance at important stages later in the narrative, suggest that Lucian is alluding to well-known previous symbolic voyages and presenting his own journey, on one level at any rate, as a quest for philosophical enlightenment. The voyage over the Ocean also represents a poetic journey: the Ocean came to be a standard symbol for Homer and epic poetry, as we can see from Longinus, *De Sublim.* 35.4 and Quintilian, *Inst. Orat.* 10.1.46. Romm notes that the analogy between Homer and the Ocean was a popular concept in the "late first or second centuries" CE.[27] If, as Romm suggests, ancient critics recognized stories which were "mostly or entirely invented" as "Oceanic", the nautical setting of Lucian's narrative puts it firmly in the tradition of the Phaeacian tales of *Od.* 9–12.

---

70. On the Circe episode as a *nekyia*, see Porph. ap. Stob. *Ecl.* 1.41.60; Lamberton (1983) 9–11; see further on Circe, Heracl. *Hom. All.* 72; Buffière (1956) 500–20.

[24] Swanson (1976) 230–1 calculates that the trip "takes up somewhat more than 32 months", this being the total of the 151 days, 27 months and "some days" which are specifically mentioned. There are about 35 different adventures, in at least 21 locales. It is interesting to observe that both 35 and 21 are multiples of 7, a number which appears constantly in the *VH* (see Commentary n. on 1.10).

[25] The helmsman dies in battle in 1.37 and is replaced by Scintharus in 2.1. There is an extended comparison of the ship to the universe with Zeus as the helmsman in *J. Trag.* 46–51. Other escorts and guides in the *VH* are the Horse-vultures in (1.11 cf. 27) and the heroes and Nauplius (2.29; cf. 31).

[26] Fr. 18 [Des Places]; Dillon (1977) 369–71; Petty (1993) 130–2.

[27] Romm (1992) 181 n. 26; cf. 183; see also Williams (1970) 88–9 and App. "Homer as Oceanus" 98–9.

In addition to allegorical interpretations of Odysseus and his wanderings, the *VH* occasionally draws upon symbolic readings of the Labours of Heracles and his other adventures.[28] These were usually performed at the edges of the known world or beyond. The journey of the travellers begins through the Pillars of Heracles (1.5) and on the Island of the Vine-women the travellers find an inscription recording Heracles' visit (1.7). This could be a reminiscence of his trip to the Underworld, as could the three-headed Horse-vultures, the Cerberus-like guards on the moon (1.11). The fire in the whale and the voyagers' escape is vaguely suggestive of Heracles' rescue of Hesione by killing the sea-monster from the inside (2.1). For the Cynics, at least, Heracles was a paragon of virtue, fighting against falsehood and illusion.[29] The Stoic Cornutus, probably drawing on the allegorical insights of Cleanthes, calls Heracles "the Logos in the universe according to which Nature is strong and powerful (Ἡρακλῆς δ' ἐστὶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς ὅλοις λόγος, καθ' ὃν ἡ φύσις ἰσχυρὰ καὶ κραταιά ἐστιν) and in Heraclitus, *Hom. All.* 34.7, he is the initiator into all the secrets of philosophy which he first discovered.[30] Thus, the kidnapping of the three-headed Cerberus represents Heracles bringing the three elements of philosophy to light: logical, physical and ethical (*ib.* 33.9–10). Heracles and Ulysses were frequently associated, as is evident from Seneca, *Dial.* 2.2: *Ulixem et Herculem Stoici nostri sapientes pronuntiaverunt, invictos labores et contemptores voluptatis et victores omnium terrarum.*[31] In the *VH*, the narrator's encounters with numerous hybrid forms (like the Nephelocentaurs) and dangerous creatures (like the Boukephaloi) make him into a Heracles figure, one fighting the monsters of philosophy and falsehood.

Several influences thus work upon the reader of the *VH* encouraging the creation of a meaning beyond the literal: the long tradition of allegorical journeys in philosophical and poetic discourse; the

---

[28] For allegorical interpretations of Heracles, see Buffière (1956) 144–5; 296; 316; 376–7; Heracl. *Hom. All.* 33–4. On Lucian's *Heracles* as a possible *prolalia* to the *VH*, see G-L (1994) 1500–01; 1505; (1995); there are references to Heracles in *Hist.* 8 and 10, where his wearing of women's clothes and working as Omphale's slave represents history adorned by the devices of poetry.

[29] Navia (1996) 139: Heracles' strangling of Typhon is symbolic of the struggle against τῦφος; cf. Plut. *De E. ap. Delph.* 387D: he is skilled in prophecy and logic.

[30] Corn. *De Nat. Deor.* 31 (221) [*SVF* 1.514]; cf. Plut. *De Is. et Os.* 367C: Heracles is, according to the Stoics, "the *pneuma* which breaks and separates"; Buffière (1956) 144–5; 296; Galinsky (1972) 127–9; 167–84. On Cornutus, see Most (1989).

[31] Epict. *Diss.* 3.24.13; 3.26.31–6; Buffière (1956) 376–7.

allegorizing interpretation of texts like the *Odyssey*, well under way by Lucian's day; symbolic readings of the wanderings of Odysseus and of the labours of Heracles and, not least, Lucian's own statement in his Introduction that he has not named the objects of his parody because readers will recognize these by themselves.

2. *Numenius of Apamea*

A Syrian contemporary of Lucian, Numenius, provides some parallels to the content and methodology of the *VH*. Although little is known about Numenius, he seems to have been both a Pythagorean philosopher and a historian who wrote about the philosophical schools. In this latter capacity he appears to have exhibited a similar brand of satirical wit and literary pastiche to that which characterizes Lucian's oeuvre.[32] Evaluating Numenius' artistic merit in the context of his age, Dillon (379) comments that "his 'history' of the New Academy shows a talent for mockery rivalling that of Lucian, that other island of wit in this sea of bores". We cannot determine the direction, or the degree, of influence between the two, since it is not known if Lucian and Numenius were even aware of each other; the only reasonably secure line of connection is that Numenius seems to have been associated with the shadowy figure Cronius, who is the addressee of Lucian's *Death of Peregrinus*.[33]

Numenius was a practitioner of allegorical exegesis: he interpreted the war between Atlantis and Athens in the *Timaeus* as a conflict between two groups of souls, one associated with Poseidon and the other, more beautiful, with Athena. He also wrote on the myth of Er and incorporated into his exegesis material from the *Odyssey*.[34] It is Numenius who provides the closest parallel for the celestial battle between Phaethon and Endymion—an episode rich in philosophical parody—in the first book of the *VH*:[35] in his description of the disputes among the early Academicians and Stoics (*On the Divergence of the Academics from Plato*, frr. 24–8), the arguing philosophers are

---

[32] See Dillon (1977) 352–78; Lamberton (1986) 54–77.

[33] Dillon (1977) 362; Lamberton (1986) 54–5.

[34] Atlantis and Athens: fr. 37 [Procl. *In Plat. Tim.* 1.76.30 (Kroll)]; Dillon (1977) 378; Lamberton (1986) 65; Petty (1993) 153–5; Er and Homer: fr. 35 [Procl. *In Plat. Rem publ.* 2.128.26–130.16; 131.8–14; cf. Dillon (1977) 375–6; Lamberton (1986) 66–9.

[35] For detailed discussion, see G-L (1996).

depicted as the combatants in a mock-heroic battle scene, replete with allusions to, and quotations from, the *Iliad*.[36] Lamberton comments that Numenius "juxtaposes his own decidedly non-heroic subject matter with the Homeric style and capitalizes on the distance between the heroic diction and the trivial disputes of the Academicians" (58); this is not at all unlike the methodology Lucian follows in his lunar episode. What we can say, then, in spite of the uncertainty surrounding Numenius, is that Lucian's parodic inflation of the arguments among philosophers into a cosmic battle between the forces of the sun and moon is paralleled in the writings of a contemporary with broadly similar intellectual interests.

The surviving works of Plotinus and Porphyry, which contain many elements derived from Numenius,[37] offer further evidence of the practices of allegorical interpretation and the context in which the *VH* should be read.[38] Porphyry's essay *On the Cave of the Nymphs* (*Od.* 13.102–112), while dating from the latter part of the third century CE, relies to a considerable extent on Numenius and Cronius, who were writing during Lucian's own second century. Lamberton suggests that Numenius' exegesis of the myth of Er was a major source for Porphyry's essay.[39] It begins with a series of questions which are provoked by Homer who is "obviously allegorizing (ἀλλ-ηγορεῖν) here and hinting (αἰνίττεσθαι) through these lines at some further meaning":

> ... we must further ask why the cave is not simply said to be sacred to the nymphs, but for greater precision the expression "called Naiads" has been added. And then, why does he include the kraters and amphoras, when we hear nothing of what is kept in them but rather are told that bees "lay up stores of honey" in them, as in beehives? The "massive looms", we may say, were set up as dedications to the nymphs. But why not of wood or some other material? No, they too

[36] Fr. 25 [Des Places]; cf. Lamberton (1986) 54–9.

[37] See Porph. *Vit. Plot.* 17 (on Plotinus' appropriation of Numenius' ideas and Amelius' book *On the Difference between the Doctrines of Plotinus and Numenius*); the references to Numenius in Porphyry's *De Antr.* 10 [63], 22 [71], 23 [72], 34 [79]; Lamberton (1983) 4–5; Petty (1993) 1–2; 10; 14–19 and 143–51 on the complexities of influence in fr. 34.

[38] For more on allegory, see Keaney and Lamberton (1996) 15–18 on Ps.-Plutarch's *Essay on the Life and Poetry of Homer*; cf. Philo *Leg. All.* 1–3 on *Genesis* 2–3 and on Philo as an allegorist, see Pépin (1967) and Christiansen (1969). J.A. Coulter (1976) discusses 5th and 6th century CE commentaries on Plato, espec. Proclus: see 19–31 on allegorical criticism.

[39] Lamberton (1983) 4; (1986) 169; Petty (1993) 57–8 and 151 on fr. 35.

> are made of stone, like the kraters and amphoras. And all this is still the less obscure part of the description. . . . Who could remain credulous when told that the goddesses go around weaving sea-purple cloaks on stone looms in murky caves, and then that these weavings by the goddesses are visible and moreover of the specific color "sea-purple"? (3 [56–7])[40]

Porphyry decides that the poet must be allegorizing here (4 [57]), following the lead of Cronius, who concludes that, since the narrative is full of obscurities like these, the poet has not created a "casual fiction for our amusement" (τοῦ διηγήματος πλάσμα μὲν ὡς ἔτυχεν εἰς ψυχαγωγίαν πεποιημένον μὴ εἶναι). Lucian's *VH* provokes exactly the same kind of questions: why, for instance, are a group of the Moonmen styled "Dendritae" (1.22) and what does it mean that their drink is air, "squeezed into a cup making a liquid like dew" (1.23)? Why are their clothes (and, later, ships' anchors) made of glass (1.25; 42) and not of wool or wood or some other material? What are we to make of the Pumpkin-pirates and the Nut-sailors in 2.37? The vital difference is, of course, that allegorists like Porphyry are seeking the "truth" which can be discovered behind or beyond the confusion of the text's surface, while, for Lucian, the secondary meanings undermine the validity of allegorical interpretation, through their relentless parody of specific poets, historians, and philosophers. The truth to be discovered behind or beyond Lucian's text is that these authors—far from conveying the truth, allegorically or otherwise—lie. The *VH*, then, is susceptible to the same method of allegorical exegesis; for it too conveys a truth, not about itself but about other texts, through its totally fantastic surface, which is riddled with perplexing contradictions, unexpected transitions and bizarre juxtapositions. The cleverness of the *VH* lies in its accurate imitation of the forms it is parodying: just as the completely untrue history mimics those historians who profess to tell the truth, so the allegorical meaning of the fantastic voyage can be extracted by traditional methods of allegorical reading. Plutarch writes in *De Aud.* 19E–F about how some people arrive at secondary meanings by "forcibly distorting" (παραβιαζόμενοι) Homer's stories through what used to be termed "deeper meanings" (ὑπονοίαις) but are nowadays called "allegories" (ἀλληγορίαις).[41] Lucian no doubt finds it highly amusing that by distorting one layer of false-

---

[40] Transl. Lamberton (1983) 22.

[41] Cf. also *Quaest. Conv.* 745D–F on how the poet conveyed the symbolic truth (ᾐνίξατο) of the Sirens.

hood it is possible to uncover another, even more mendacious, layer underneath. To the polemics of the allegorists—and allegory is, after all, a mode of writing which tends to arise in polemical atmospheres[42]—Lucian offers his own parodic polemic against misreading.

3. *Journeys for Knowledge*

The voyage of the narrator and his friends in the *VH* draws on a long tradition of initiatory journeys of the mind and the soul, such as the myth of Er in *Rep.* 614B–621D. The scholiast comments on the phrase τοῖς φιλοσοφεῖν ὑπισχνουμένοις in *VH* 1.4 that Lucian is referring here to the myth of Er, and at several points in the story, it is indeed likely that Lucian is alluding to Plato's myth. In the *Republic*, Er recounts how his soul left his body and travelled to a place of judgement where the souls are separated: the good go to the right and up, the bad to the left and down (614B–E). He goes on to describe the region of punishment, and there are echoes of this passage in Lucian's account of the Isle of the Wicked (614E–616C; cf. *VH* 2.29–31). The myth also has a significant astronomical component (616C–617D). The reincarnation element is described in 617D–621B and includes instances of the souls of humans selecting animals for their next life, and vice versa (620A–E). This is similar to the motif of the philosophers in disguise in the fantastic creatures of the *VH*. At the end of the experience, Er watches the souls travel to the Plain of Lethe, where they drink from the River of Forgetfulness (621A); Er is not allowed to drink from it himself (621B) and his soul returns to his body. In the Isle of the Blessed in the *VH*, the narrator is told that they cannot stay, but may make only a temporary sojourn of seven months. They will have to be judged for their life's actions after they have died.

Another psychic journey of interest for the interpretation of the voyage in the *VH* is the one described in Plato's *Phaedo* 107C–114C.[43] This is a particularly relevant example because of its use of seafaring imagery: the seeker of knowledge must set out on a raft (85D), an image which evokes Odysseus on the waves. Later when Socrates describes the "real" earth (110B–111C), he says some of its inhabitants dwell on the coasts of the air, just as we dwell about the sea,

---

[42] Fineman (1991) 5; cf. Prudentius' *Psychomachia*; Swift's *Gulliver's Travels*.
[43] Stewart and Levy (1960) 103–32.

and others on islands, which the air flows around. In short, what water and the sea are in our lives, he says, air is in theirs; and what the air is to us, the *aither* is to them (111A–B).[44] In the *VH*, the air is a sea and the heavenly bodies are islands in it (1.10).[45] The journey to the Moon is a journey to another world, although, given the parodic nature of the narrative, it is inevitably full of strange creatures and customs and is more "unreal" than "real", in so far as these terms have any validity in the context of the *VH*. The link between the Moon and Socrates' "real" earth is a natural one and is made by Plutarch, who records the belief (*De Fac.* 934F–935A) that it "closely resembles in constitution the earth which Socrates made the subject of a myth, whether he really was speaking in riddles about this earth or describing another".

Later in the same work (107E–108C), Socrates discusses the journey of the souls to Hades: after death the *daimon* of each person leads him to a place where the dead are gathered and judged; then they depart to the other world with the guide and, after they have been there for a long time, the guide brings them back. The journey is on a path which is neither simple nor single—if it were there would be no need for a guide—and there are many forks of the road and windings (107D–108A). The *VH* may be interpreted as a journey of the soul of the same variety, in which the travellers eventually reach the world of the dead. On the way, the helmsman is killed in battle inside the Whale and is replaced by Scintharus (1.38; cf. 2.41). Lucian hints that the inhabitants of the Whale may already be dead when Scintharus remarks (1.33) that "we conjecture (εἰκάζομεν) that we are dead, but we trust (πιστεύομεν) we are alive". It is the new helmsman who guides the voyagers out of the Whale and into the land of the dead. The travellers are temporarily admitted to the Isle of the Blessed, but not permitted to stay. They are told to continue their wanderings until at last they will reach the mainland opposite. The narrative ends in a close encounter with death, in the form of the dangerous Ass-legs, and a shipwreck. The "other continent" which the narrator and his companions reach at the end represents the end of the search, the completion of the initiation. At the beginning of the voyage, we were told that the goal was to reach the *telos* of the Ocean; *telos* has many layers of meaning, including

---

[44] Cf. *Phdr.* 248A–249C; *Rep.* 514A–517A.
[45] Cf. Plut. *De Gen.* 590C; 591C; Iambl. *Vit. Pyth.* 82; Burkert (1972) 358–68.

"death".[46] The shipwreck could be the equivalent of a death, but more likely signifies the end of the sea-voyage, that is, the end of this phase of the search for knowledge. The shipwreck throws the travellers into the sea and this may symbolize purification: In Euripides, *Iph. Taur.* 1193, "the sea washes away all men's evils", and a scholiast on Homer, *Il.* 1.314 notes that "the sea is naturally purificatory". The other continent may also signify a return to the real world: it could be the continent which the voyagers left in 1.5 and which now—after the initiation is completed—looks strange and unfamiliar. The purificatory aspect is also reflected in the numerous references to winds and storms in the narrative: the story begins and ends, for instance, with a big storm (1.6; 2.47).[47]

In the *VH*, the linear account of the sea-voyage is disrupted by three subsidiary journeys, which convey the travellers to alternative worlds: (1) the journey to the Moon, where the narrator takes part in Endymion's war against Phaethon and observes the strange customs of the Moonmen; (2) the episode inside the Whale, where the voyagers meet Scintharus and help him in his battle with the other inhabitants; and (3) the visit to the Isle of the Blessed, where the narrator meets the souls of the dead and describes their paradisiacal existence. These subsidiary trips are themselves journeys for knowledge.

These three journeys have parallels in some of Lucian's other works.[48] The trip to the Moon is an example of the aerial flight for knowledge (seen in its basic form in the myth of Daedalus, Parmenides fr. 1 or Plato's *Phaedrus*), which had formed the framework of Lucian's earlier *Icaromenippus*.[49] In that dialogue, Menippus gives an account

---

[46] Hdt. 1.31; Xen. *Cyr.* 7.3.11; cf. Plat. *Leg.* 801E; also Urmson (1990) 163–4.

[47] Cumont (1942) 129; (1949) 167; other instances include 1.9 (whirlwind); 2.2 (northerly wind); 2.4 (breeze); 2.37 (storm); 2.42 (strong wind).

[48] In *Icaromenippus* there are also 3 stages: sun, moon and sky.

[49] On this dialogue, see Helm (1906) 80–114; Bartels (1967); Luck-Huyse (1977) 100–9. On the parallels between *Icaromenippus* and *Menippus*, see Anderson (1976c) 139–41. Other instances of the association between flying and the acquisition of knowledge are found in *Astrol.* 13–19, where Lucian discusses the flight legends of Bellerophon and others (13–19). The speaker (Democritus) does not believe that Bellerophon had a bird as a horse (13), but he pursued this wisdom and raised his thoughts on high, and held conversations with the stars, and he ascended into heaven not by his horse but by his intelligence. Similarly, in *Somnium* 13, Education (*paideia*) comes to Lucian in a dream and advises him to abandon his career in Sculpture, for it will not bring him the rewards that she can provide (honour, praise, fame etc.). When Lucian rejects Sculpture in favour of Education, she takes him for a ride in a chariot with winged horses, like Pegasus, to show him what he would have missed if he had not chosen her. See also Bousset (1901); Weiker (1902); Jones (1926); Kroll (1931); Jacob (1981); Dean-Otting (1984); Luck-Huyse (1997).

of his trip to the moon in the search for philosophical truth. Having noted the disparate and discordant arguments of the philosophers about the nature of the universe, Menippus decides to fly up to ask Zeus for information in person. As in the *VH*, the flight to the Moon is precipitated by a form of Dionysian initiation: there is a gradual transition from down-to-earth speculations to the more fanciful, beginning with the "flights" of tragic and comic poetry and thence to the notions of philosophers, which are, so to speak, in the clouds (10–11; cf. the Island of the Vine-women in *VH* 1.7–9). The "alternative world" of the moon provides the opportunity for scrutiny of the actual world below: in *Icar.* 11–19, Menippus, from his vantage-point on the moon, first recognizes major terrestrial landmarks, such as the colossus of Rhodes, and then makes out smaller details. In the end, he can almost see the ants. In the *VH*, there is a well with a mirror in which the narrator can see his own world clearly (1.26); the well also appears as a passage of communication between human beings and Zeus in *Icar.* 25. In the lunar adventure of the *VH* and in *Icaromenippus*, the main subject is the state of disagreement among the various groups of philosophers: the word μάχη is used of the dispute between philosophers in *Icar.* 8. In the *VH*, the dispute is presented as a literal battle between fantastic forces, which, on at least one level, represent the outlandish notions and theories of the philosophers, or the arguing philosophers themselves. The basic idea of a war between the Moon and the Sun is also present in nascent form in the earlier dialogue: in *Icar.* 20, the Moon complains that the philosophers have stirred up disputes between herself and the Sun.

The trip to the Moon in the *VH* is therefore best understood as an elaboration of the devices and concerns of the *Icaromenippus*. The two journeys are linked by the association of philosophers with aerial voyages and astronomical speculation, and by the theme of fighting. As the *VH* allows Lucian to outdo the lying historians he castigated in the *Hist.*, so it also permits him to take up a similar challenge from the philosophers implied in *Icar.* 7: Menippus complains that the philosophers state nothing hypothetically and give no opportunity to outdo them in exaggeration; in the *VH*, Lucian manages to do just this.

A possible source for the lunar episode, or at any rate a piece which is representative of the kind of philosophical disquisition on which the *VH* draws for its eschatological and initiatory aspects, is the myth of Sulla recounted in Plutarch, *De Facie quae in orbe lunae*

apparet; this falls into two parts, the frame 941A–942C, and the main myth, 942D–945D.[50] There is a basic similarity with the early part of the *VH*, in which the travellers come to the island of Dionysus and, having sampled the vine, sail up to the Moon: the first part of Sulla's myth describes a journey to the mystical island of Cronus, while the second is an account, heard from the servants of Cronus, of the eschatological importance of the Moon. As is the case in the *VH*, the authorial voice is distanced from the narrative, this time by having three narrators: Sulla first reports the account of a certain Stranger; in the second part, Sulla quotes the Stranger, who says he got his information from the servants of Cronus.

The story in the *De Facie* begins with a quotation from Homer about Ogygia (cf. *Od.* 7.244), which lies out in the Atlantic. Beyond it are other islands and a great mainland.[51] Sulla then relates how, every thirty years, a group of travellers are sent from the mainland to the island of Cronus, in ships with enough provisions to make such a journey by rowing. They meet with various adventures and are carried by winds to the island where Cronus sleeps in a cavern. This island has utopian characteristics (941E–942A). The second part of the myth is the Stranger's reply to Sulla's request for further clarification about the importance of the Moon. She is the boundary of Hades, he asserts. When it leaves the body, the soul wanders in the region between the earth and the Moon; exactly how long depends upon the offences the particular individuals have committed. Again, similarities with the Moon trip in the *VH* are apparent and the whole lunar episode may, in fact, be read as a parody of the soul's journey to its lunar station. For instance, at one point in the battle, the narrator and two companions are taken prisoner by Phaethon's forces and transported to the Sun (1.18). In Plutarch's myth, the second separation or "second death" involves the mind (*nous*) being detached from the soul: this happens "by love for the image in the sun through which shines forth manifest the desirable and fair and divine and blessed towards which all nature in one way or another yearns, for it must be out of love for the sun that the moon herself goes her

[50] Günther (1911); Prickard (1911); Hamilton (1934); Cherniss (1951) 148–9; and (1957), his edition of the *De Facie* in the Loeb series; Vernière (1986); Romm (1992) 203–4.

[51] For a geographical investigation, see Chroust (1979).

rounds and gets into conjunction with him, in her yearning to receive from him what is most fructifying" (*De Fac.* 943E). In the *VH*, the separation of *nous* from *psyche* is burlesqued in the removal of the three captive travellers to the sun (1.18), and the union of the sun and moon is alluded to in the treaty which brings an end to the war (1.20). The idea of the second death may also be parodied in the description of the Moonmen dissolving into smoke (1.23) when they expire. In the *VH*, there are several parallels between the account of life on the Moon and the description of the existence of the souls on the Isle of the Blessed, two episodes which form one of the many doublets in the *VH*.[52] For Lucian's narrator and his companions the journey of knowledge and purification has only begun: if the trip to the Moon is a symbolic "first death" they have yet to undergo their "second death", perhaps in the Underworld in *VH* 2. Lucian is taking on two different, but related, after-life accounts, and subjecting each to an extended parody in the first and second books respectively. The ascent and descent pattern may owe something to Numenius: in fr. 35, probably from his elucidation of the myth of Er, Numenius is said by Proclus to "raise the rivers of the Underworld and Tartarus itself" into the planetary spheres. Proclus adds:

> [Numenius] fills the Milky Way only with souls which have ascended from there into heaven. And while the one [Plato] denies that the blessed pass into the subterranean realm, the other [Numenius] is compelled to lead them first into that realm, since it is required that every soul go to the judge first; then they rise to the realm above heaven, where the souls live in bliss.[53]

A journey for knowledge in reverse, so to speak, takes place in the *Charon*, in which the ferryman of the Underworld leaves his boat, comes up above ground, and asks Hermes to show him everything in the world above. Charon wants to find out about how people live before their souls come to his realm and what they lose that makes them grieve when they come down (1). He says he knows nothing about it, being a stranger (2)—just as Lucian and his companions are on the moon (*VH* 1.11) and in the whale (1.33). Hermes and Charon pile mountains on top of each other according to the directions of the "master-builder" Homer (*Od.* 11.305–20) and from this

---

[52] See Anderson (1976c) 8–10.

[53] Fr. 35 [Procl. *In Plat. Rem publ.* 2.128. 26–30; 131. 8–14 (Kroll)]; transl. by Petty (1993) 58; cf. 143–52 for detailed discussion of Numenius' contribution. On Hades as the Air, see Heracl. *Hom. All.* 23.9; 24.1; cf. Buffière (1956) 489–95.

vantage-point they inspect the world and its inhabitants (8–24). Whereas Charon leaves his boat (he is called λιπόνεως, 1) in order to undertake his journey for knowledge, the travellers in the *VH* board a boat in order to go on theirs; the curious presence of Charon among the living is mirrored in the sojourn of the travellers among the dead in the second book of the *VH*. It may even be that they are boarding Charon's boat, if indeed they, and the people they meet, are all already dead.

The *Menippus* is a companion piece to the *Icar.*, describing a descent into Hades undertaken in order to find the right way to live. Menippus is again confused by the philosophers who neither agree in their doctrines nor practise what they preach. Tiresias eventually tells him to disregard them, and informs him that the ordinary man's way of living is best. The descent is preceded by special rites, incantations, bathing in the Euphrates and purification in the Tigris, which are similar in their initiatory overtones to the episode on the Island of the Vine-women at the beginning of the journey in *VH* 7–9. The tour of Hades to see the sights and find out about the dead is another version of the descent for knowledge which Lucian utilizes on more than one occasion: in *D.Mort.* 6(20) Menippus asks Aeacus to guide him around Hades and show him everything there—Aeacus responds that he will show him only the most important things—and in *De Luct.* 2–9 a tour of Hades provides the basis for an exploration of funeral customs and habits.

The confinement in the Whale—which constitutes the second of the three alternative worlds of the *VH*—also owes something to the form of the "descent for knowledge", although it is perhaps most reminiscent of Plato's allegory of the Cave.[54] This is a third kind of journey, one in which the search for knowledge is described in terms of an escape from a dark, prison-like place into the light. A variation—involving an entry into a strange place, a set period of sequestration from the actual world, and a return from the place of confinement once the desired knowledge has been gained—is illustrated by the story of the Cave of Trophonius, recounted in Plutarch, *De Genio Socratis* 590A–592D.[55] Timarchus goes to the Cave of Trophonius desiring to find out about the Socratic *daimonion*; when

[54] For a history of the image of the Cave, see Weinberg (1986).

[55] Origen *Contr. Cels.* 5.57, speaking of "miraculous events" told by legitimate philosophers, connects the content of this work with that found in "Numenius the Pythagorean in the second book of *Concerning the Incorruptibility of the Soul*" (Num. fr. 29).

he returns, he tells of the "wonderful things he saw and heard". Porphyry comments that "the Persian mystagogues initiate their candidate by explaining to him the downward journey of the souls and their subsequent return, and they call the place where this occurs a 'cave'".[56] He goes on to explain that the cave is a symbol of both the "perceptible cosmos" and the "noetic cosmos", quoting Empedocles and Plato.[57]

Lucian makes use of the Cave for satirical purposes in the *De Mercede Conductis*, an account of the miserable life of philosophers and other educated Greeks who were employed in wealthy households.[58] He begins (1) by depicting them as "breaking out of prison so to speak", and recalling, not without pleasure, the sufferings which they had undergone. The escapees were all the more trustworthy, because they had gone through all the degrees of the "ritual" and had been "initiated" into everything from beginning to end. He listened while they spun yarns about their shipwreck and their unlooked-for deliverance, and likens their stories to the tales of merchants. The nautical image is then extended (2) to those who endured "household storms": they sailed in on a calm sea, endured all the perils of a sea-voyage, and finally managed to swim to the shore, naked and devoid of all necessities. Thus, the confinement in the Cave and the escape to freedom are linked with the perils of a storm at sea and with reaching the safety of the shore. This is picked up in the *VH*, where the search for knowledge takes the travellers into the stomach of the Whale and out again; also, there is a shipwreck at the end of the second book, from which the voyagers only just manage to swim to safety (2.47).

The motif of entrapment frequently appears in such stories, symbolizing intellectual torpor or a lack of openness to genuine knowledge. Lucian warns Timocles, the young addressee of *Merc. Cond.*, who is a student of philosophy, not to be ensnared by hopes of material *eudaimonia* to be gained by serving in a rich man's house (cf. Endymion's offer of *eudaimonia* on the colony of the Morning-

---

[56] *De Antr.* 6 [60], transl. Lamberton (1983) 25.

[57] *De Antr.* 7–10 [60–3]; cf. Buffière (1956) 419–59, espec. 425–9.

[58] See also Swanson (1976) 232–3. At the close of the *Merc. Cond.* (42), the quest for material *eudaimonia* is presented, in a manner which alludes directly to Platonic allegory, as climbing a slippery hill to a golden gateway, in which Wealth is seated and where Hope leads him on. The piece ends with a quotation from Plato (*Rep.* 617E), to the effect that "god is not at fault: the fault is his who makes the choice".

star in *VH* 1.12). The entrapment is described in terms of a fish being hooked by the bait, and getting caught in a net (3). In the *VH*, the narrator and his friends are continually facing traps (the Vine-women, the Whale, the Ass-legs) and escaping from them.

The descent to the Underworld reappears in a slightly different form in the second book of the *VH*, when the travellers visit the Isle of the Blessed and, more briefly, the Isle of the Wicked. In the Isle of the Blessed, the narrator encounters Homer and many of the philosophers whose doctrines Lucian is parodying. He also sees the lying historians, like Ctesias and Herodotus, suffering punishments on the Isle of the Wicked. Although there is no actual descent—the islands are simply in the sea like all the others—there is a chasm in the sea which the travellers have to cross in 2.43, which seems to parallel the rising of the souls through the chasm after their sojourn in the meadow in Plato's myth of Er (*Rep.* 621B). As mentioned above, it is possible that in the *VH* both the people they meet and the travellers themselves are all already dead: the voyagers appear to be alive on the Isle of the Blessed (2.10), but in such a narrative, it is impossible to be certain that this is to be taken literally. In 2.24, reference is made to a new epic composed by Homer about the battle of the dead heroes: this may suggest that Lucian has been ironically carrying on Homer's legacy by recounting his own "battle of the shades" in the *VH* up to this point.

The narrative of the *VH*, then, seems to exhibit a basic structure of a passage from the actual world to the world of the dead and back again which is analogous to a religious initiation.[59] In each case, the search for knowledge is the motivation. One might wonder whether all journey narratives are not somehow analogous to initiation processes: the *Argonautica* appears to fit the pattern and the *Orphic Argonautica* makes the religious aspects of the voyage even clearer.[60] The travel narrative of Iambulus (see Introd. III. 2 below)—an author specifically named as a target in the Introduction—is also

---

[59] On the initiatory aspects of ancient novels, see Merkelbach (1962), espec. 192–224 (Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe*); 225–33 (Antonius Diogenes' *The Wonders Beyond Thule*); 234–98 (Heliodorus' *Aethiopica*); for discussion, see Turcan (1963); Reardon (1969) 302–3; Heiserman (1977) 186–202; Morgan (1996) 446–7.

[60] See Vian (1988). In *VH* 2.29, Nauplius—a navigator on the Argo in Apollonius Rhodius (*Arg.* 1.138; 2.896)—accompanies the voyagers as they leave the Isle of the Blessed and in 2.41 the gooseneck on the prow suddenly comes alive in an echo of *Arg.* 4.580–3.

marked by several initiation motifs: the two voyagers are brought to the Island of the sun (the term νῆσον εὐδαίμονα is also used, cf. Diod. 2.55.4) in order to purify the land of the Ethiopians (Diod. 2.55.3). Stengel believes that the initiatory content of the *VH* is specifically Dionysian. If, as some scholars believe, the *VH* was prefaced by Lucian's *prolalia, Dionysus*, the audience would have been alerted to the upcoming Bacchic references.[61] The wine and the water, and their association with blood, in the episodes of the Vine-women and the Ass-legs, are also somewhat suggestive of Christian mysteries; while the subject of Lucian's attitude and indebtedness to the latter is a complex matter, studies indicate at least some similarities, if not a direct borrowing.[62] The connections between Dionysian and Christian cult in late antiquity would tend to confirm this.[63] Some passages of the *VH* are reminiscent of parts of John's *Apocalypse*: the fascination with precious stones, numbers and the light quality in the account of the city of the Blessed (2.11–12) is echoed in the vision of the New Jerusalem, with its twelve gates, buildings of pure gold, jewelled foundation-stones and absence of night and sunlight (21.11–22.5).[64] *Old Testament* reminiscences have also been noted; for instance, in the story of the Whale there are elements which appear in the tale of Jonah.[65]

III. *Parody and Allusion*

In his Introduction, Lucian lists the reasons why his readers will find the upcoming narrative a suitable diversion from their more serious

---

[61] Stengel (1911) 47–50, 91–2; for the possibility that Lucian's *Dionysus* served as an Introduction (*prolalia*) to the *VH*, see most recently G-L (1995).

[62] Caster (1937); Betz (1961); see also Rahner (1963), espec. 89–176 on the sun and moon; 328–86 on Odysseus.

[63] See Eisler (1925); Rahner (1963).

[64] Other similarities include: *Apoc.* 13.1–2, the hybrid beast with seven heads and 9.7–8, the "locusts like warhorses armed for battle" (cf. the hybrid forces in Endymion's and Phaethon's armies); *Apoc.* 2.1–2, the seven stars and seven lampstands (cf. Lychnopolis); *Apoc.* 15.2, the sea of glass (cf. the frozen sea); and *Apoc.* 22.16, Jesus says he is the "bright morning star" (cf. Endymion's promised *eudaimonia* on the morning-star); see also Reyhl (1969) 40–2; *schol. VH* 2.11 [Rabe, 21]; Burmeister (1843); Kühn (1844).

[65] C.C. Coulter (1926); Porph. *De Antr.* 10 [63] quotes Numenius citing a phrase almost exactly from *Gen.* 1.2 ("the breath of god was moving over the water") and if Numenius was encountering all sorts of philosophical and religious groups and texts, Lucian was probably not unaware of them either; see also Stengel (1911) 49.

studies: not only the novelty of the plot, the pleasing nature of the undertaking, and because he tells multifarious lies in a plausible and untrue manner, but also because:

> καὶ τῶν ἱστορουμένων ἕκαστον οὐκ ἀκωμῳδήτως ᾔνικται πρός τινας τῶν παλαιῶν ποιητῶν τε καὶ συγγραφέων καὶ φιλοσόφων πολλὰ τεράστια καὶ μυθώδη συγγεγραφότων.
>
> each part of the story has been hinting in a rather amusing way at some of the old poets and historians and philosophers who wrote many marvellous stories.

The verb αἰνίττομαι in conjunction with the adverbial expression οὐκ ἀκωμῳδήτως conveys the sense of the concept we term "parody".[66] The narrative of the *VH*, then, will allude to, parody and make fun of poets, historians and philosophers, who wrote many fantastic and fictional things. Lucian says he would have named them, but the audience—being sophisticated readers of σπουδαιότερα—will recognize them. He did not name very many historians in the *Hist.* either, leaving it up to the reader to recognize who was being criticized. Parody is, of course, most effective when it does not announce itself directly. How then is the *VH* to be read and enjoyed? First of all, the reader is invited to play the game of spotting the allusions to specific writers and works and the parody of certain genres of literary composition.[67]

1. *Poetry*

Of the poets, Homer is the most frequently parodied: an orderly survey of Homeric borrowings is provided by Bouquiaux-Simon.[68] Lucian makes effective use of the tradition of Odysseus as an unreliable narrator or, to put it more bluntly, a liar.[69] There are numerous

---

[66] On ancient parody, see Lelièvre (1954), Markiewicz (1966); Rose (1979) 6–19, 280; Dane (1988), espec. 67–82 on the *VH*; Hannoosh (1989) 9–13; in general, see Karrer (1977); Rose (1979), (1981) and (1993); Hutcheon (1985); Hannoosh (1989) 9–26.

[67] See Burmeister (1843); Kühn (1844); Stengel (1911); Bompaire (1958) 658–73; Ollier (1962); Anderson (1976c).

[68] Bouquiaux-Simon (1968); see also Householder (1941) 18–30; Mal-Maeder (1992); for a cautionary approach to the issue of quotations and allusions in Lucian in general, see Anderson (1976b).

[69] See e.g. Trahman (1952); Levin (1961); Walcot (1977); Emlyn-Jones (1986); Parry (1994); Richardson (1996). On the proverbial connotations of the tales told to Alcinous, see Tümpel (1894); Romm (1992) 183–96. One may also compare

echoes and parodies of incidents in *Od.* 7–12, the books in which Odysseus recounts his adventures to the Phaeacians.[70] There is, in fact, a vaguely chronological recalling of the adventures of Odysseus in the *VH*, moving from the Polyphemus episode, through the meeting with Eumaeus and the defeat of the suitors, to Odysseus' death. The relationship between the Lucian of the Preface (1.1–4) and the Lucian narrating the sea-voyage in the rest of the *VH* is akin to the relationship between Homer and Odysseus. In the *VH*, as in the *Odyssey*, we have the paradoxical situation of the narrator being a better story-teller than the writer who created him. Thus in *VH* 2.20, Odysseus uses his verbal skills to defend Homer—against a charge of slandering Thersites—and wins the case. Odysseus the character takes on a life of his own, displacing his creator, just as the narrator of the *VH* comes to dominate the voice of the author: at the end of Book 2, the final words are the narrator's. We do not hear directly from the author again after the Introduction, although the inscription in 2.28 seems to refer to him. While the Odyssey is the source of the majority of the parodies in the *VH*, the narrative—which is pervaded by the theme of war—also has several "Iliadic" episodes, such as the battle in the sky and the catalogue of combatants, which resembles the famous "Catalogue of ships" in *Iliad* 2. The reference to the death of Sarpedon in *VH* 1.17 (cf. *Il.* 16.459) is a nudge to the readers, suggesting that they should have the *Iliad* in mind here. In the second book, the abduction of Helen and the war between the Greeks and the Trojans are burlesqued in the story of Cinyras' brief affair with a very willing Helen (2.25–6) and the rebellion of the souls of the Wicked (2.23–4). Homer even writes an account of the battle between the heroes (Theseus, Achilles and company) against the rebels.

There are also numerous references to the plays of Aristophanes,

---

Juvenal 15.13–26: Odysseus is described (16) as a *mendax aretalogus* (probably derived from ἀρεστός, meaning "agreeable") and Alcinous asks (23) whether he really thought the Phaeacians were so empty-headed (*tam vacui capitis populum Phaeaca putavit*). On readers, narrators and gender in the *Odyssey*, see Dougherty (1995).

[70] Some representative examples: 1.6 (exploration of the island) cf. *Od.* 10.88–104; 1.27 (Endymion gives the narrator some gifts) cf. *Od.* 8.389; 1.29 (the narrator asks the lamp what is happening at home) cf. *Od.* 11.174–179; 2.10 (Rhadamanthus asks the travellers how they have come there alive) cf. *Od.* 11.93–4; 2.13 (description of the abode of the blessed) cf. *Od.* 7.82–137; 2.24 (the first line of a new poem by Homer) cf. *Od.* 1.1; 2.28 (the protective mallow root) cf. *Od.* 10.302–306; 2.44 (cannibals) cf. *Od.* 10.120–124. See also Peigney (1988).

especially the *Clouds*, the *Birds*[71] and the *Peace*.[72] The Aristophanic sources were important for Lucian's *VH*. In them we find several ideas basic to the fantastic voyage: travel through the air to an upper world, conflation of human and animal forms, and the constant presence of war and argument. Lucian certainly knew the *Clouds* and used it elsewhere.[73] The Introduction of the *VH*, with its emphasis on novelty of design and the writer's ingenuity echoes part of the Parabasis of the *Clouds* (518–62), in which the poet defends the cleverness and sophistication of his play. The association of philosophers with the air and the heavenly bodies is very pronounced in this drama—astronomy, philosophy and sophistic education are linked in 187–94[74]—and Aristophanes' fantasies may have provided the original inspiration for some of Lucian's ideas. A student of Socrates is depicted as investigating the paths and revolutions of the moon and such matters (171–2). Socrates himself says that he "walks the air" (ἀεροβατῶ)[75] (225) and explains that he made correct discoveries about celestial phenomena by hanging up his mind and mixing particles of his thought into the air which it resembles; if he had been on the ground he could not have made discoveries about the upper regions. In order to acquire knowledge of the true nature of divine things, one must commune with the Clouds, the deities of the philosophers (250–2), and be initiated (254–9).

The strange shapes of the clouds in the sky above the *phrontisterion* may lie behind some of Lucian's fantastic forms in the battle-scene

---

[71] There is ample evidence that Lucian knew this play; that he has it in mind in the early part of the *VH* is clear from the explicit reference to Cloudcuckooland in 1. 29: the travellers sail past it on their way back to the sea, and the narrator comments that he thought of Aristophanes "a wise and truthful man, whose works arouse unjustified disbelief".

[72] Anderson (1976a) 6 suggests that the aerial journeys in the *VH* and *Icar.* form a doublet, in imitation of the two trips in Aristophanes' *Birds* and *Peace*. On Lucian's familiarity with Aristophanes in general, see Ledergerber (1905); Householder (1941) 4–5; Anderson (1976c) 90–1.

[73] In *Herm.* 81, the story of the young man, who owes debts to a philosopher, and his uncle who arrives and complains to the philosopher about his nephew's behaviour is very reminiscent of the Strepsiades-Pheidippides combination in the *Clouds*. Also, the main thrust of the *Herm.* is the skill required to distinguish between the false and true philosopher, just as in the *Clouds* the challenge is to learn the right and wrong arguments. Both sides are to be given an equal hearing (*Herm.* 30).

[74] This is understandable, since rhetoric, cosmology, meteorology (95–7, 368–407), biology (144–68) and grammar (658–691) all came within the purview of the thinkers and educators who are called sophists. See also Guthrie (1962–81) 2.3–54 for a general discussion of the sophists.

[75] Cf. *Bis Acc.* 33.

of the *VH*. First of all, there is the connection between the clouds and certain types of literary composition: Strepsiades says the fact that the Clouds nurture all kinds of pseudo-artists, including the notoriously grandiloquent dithyrambic poets, explains why they write about the "locks of hundred-headed Typhos"[76] and other meteorological extravagances (335–39). Secondly, the Clouds turn themselves into the shape of various creatures—like centaurs, wolves, deer and women—whose characteristics mimic those of people they want to make fun of (348–55). There is a very similar notion in the *VH*, where the fantastic animals in the sky appear to represent philosophers or philosophical arguments which Lucian wishes to ridicule. Thirdly, there are some details in Lucian's animals which seem to allude to elements in the *Clouds*: for instance, the Nephelocentaurs ("Cloud-centaurs") play a prominent role in the battle between the Moon and the Sun, delivering the final victory to Phaethon's forces. The name may well have been inspired by the description of the cloud which looks like a centaur (the first of Socrates' examples to Strepsiades) in 346–50.

Other possible ideas which Lucian may have borrowed from the *Clouds* include the motif of riding (15–16; 27; 63)—in the forces of Endymion and Phaethon almost all the combatants are mounted, as if on horses—and humorous speculation on the causes of meteorological phenomena (368–76; 379–80; 395–407). In *VH* 1.19, the Sunites choose not to besiege (πολιορκεῖν) the Moonites, but to build a wall (ἀπετείχιζον) to prevent the light of the sun from reaching them. This is also reminiscent of another passage in the play, this time from the Parabasis, in which the Chorus recalls how there was an eclipse of the moon and of the sun because of divine anger at the appointment of Cleon to the office of general.

In the *Birds*, Lucian found a connection between the upper reaches and certain types of "high-flown" language, similar to the use of clouds and air as symbols of "lofty" language in the *Clouds*. In one case, the emphasis is on poetry, in the other on philosophy. In Cloudcuckooland, moreover, Aristophanes created the device of the alternative, yet familiar, world as a means of commenting on the world of real life. The motif of the animal disguise, or of the animal

[76] Father of the storm winds (Hes. *Th.* 821–5); there is a τυφών in *VH* 1.9 which whirls the ship up to the celestial sea.

which embodies certain human characteristics, is used very successfully in the *Birds* and may have provided the basis for the representation of philosophers and their arguments by all sorts of creatures in the *VH*.

Lucian also draws upon a work which is itself a parody of Homeric epic, the *Batrachomyomachia*, which depicts a comical battle between the Frogs and Mice.[77] The battle-scenes are highly reminiscent of the account of the war between Endymion and Phaethon. In 159, the Frogs say that they will put up a trophy over the slaughtered mice; they are beaten in the battle, however, and the detail of the short-lived trophies of the Moonites could be derived from this (1.18). The strange armour of the Mice (161–4) is like the strange armour in the *VH* (cf. 1.14) and includes some of the plants which feature in Lucian's account: their shins are covered with leaves of mallow (cf. 1.16) and their breastplates are made of fine green beet-leaves. For shields, they have cabbage leaves (cf. 1.23), which have been skilfully fashioned. The detail in *VH* 1.17 of the trumpeting asses and the *Aerokonopes* of 1.16 could have been inspired by *Batrach.* 199–200, where the gnats (κώνωπες) sound the note of war with big trumpets. In 220–1, the lake is dyed with red blood and in 229, the earth is bespattered with blood; in *VH* 1.17, there is an allusion to the rain of blood which followed the death of Sarpedon and the clouds are said to be dyed red, as if at sunset. The conclusion of the battle is strikingly similar to the sequence of events in the engagement between the Moonites and the Sunites: the Frogs get beaten (285), but Zeus intervenes with a thunderbolt to stop the fighting. This also echoes the threat he makes in *Icar.* to strike the philosophers with a lightning-bolt and, by extension, put a stop to their fighting. Perhaps Lucian's major alteration of what he found in the *Batrach.* was to turn the grotesque combatants into symbols of philosophers or philosophical theories. The Suda preserves the titles of three poems in a similar vein attributed to Homer, *Arachnomachia* (cf. the battle-field of cobweb in *VH* 1.15), *Geranomachia* (cf. the Hippogeranoi in 1.13) and *Psaromachia* (cf. the warlike sea-creatures inside the whale in 1.35).

[77] Herrmann (1949) 361–2 argues that the *Batrachomyomachia* was composed by Babrius and, more significantly for our purposes, that Lucian's account (*VH* 1.12–21) of the battle of Endymion and Phaethon was directly inspired by it.

The view of poets and poetry which Lucian appears to hold is in line with the criticisms levelled at practitioners of mimetic arts, including Homer, in Plato, *Rep.* 598D–E:

> When anyone reports of someone, that he has met a man who knows all the crafts . . . and that there is nothing that he does not know more exactly than anyone else, our tacit rejoinder must be that he is a simple fellow, who apparently has met some magician or imitator and has been deceived by him into the belief that he is all wise, because of his own inability to put to the test and distinguish knowledge, ignorance and imitation (598D).

The "simple fellow" is equivalent to the "simple-minded Phaeacians" in *VH* 1.3. The work of poets is far removed from reality and easy to produce without knowledge of the truth, for it is phantoms, not realities, which they produce (599A). They do not have a genuine knowledge of the things they imitate; if a man had this knowledge he would much prefer to devote himself to real things, rather than to the imitation of them, and he would try to leave behind him many noble deeds and works as memorials of himself (599B). The narrator of the *VH* also wants to leave something to posterity, but he knows that he is going to tell complete lies (1.4). Lucian differs from Plato, however, in one critical aspect: he does not regard poetry as different from philosophy. From his standpoint, both poets and philosophers are guilty of lying.

2. *Historiography and Story-telling*

As for the writers of history, the *VH* includes several details and ideas which appear to make fun of passages in Herodotus and Ctesias and several other historians who had, in Lucian's eyes, a less than secure commitment to the truth.[78] Ctesias is named in the Introduction and is found among the souls of the Wicked, together with Herodotus, in *VH* 2.31. Possible references to Megasthenes, Callisthenes and Theopompus are collected by Stengel and Hall, and are listed in the Commentary below. The *VH* also, on occasion, seems to incor-

---

[78] In *Philops.* 2, Lucian describes men—who are otherwise sensible and remarkably intelligent—who have been infected with the plague of lying and enjoy deceiving themselves and their associates. He lists Herodotus and Ctesias of Cnidus, and their predecessors, the poets including Homer. Cf. T.S. Brown (1955); Pédech (1984) 146–55; Romm (1989a); Lateiner (1990).

porate reminiscences of Thucydides, particularly in the account of the battle between the Moon and the Sun (1.13–20), and the naval battle of the giants sailing on islands (1.40–42).[79] Not all of these authors, of course, were given to the inclusion of marvellous or fictional details, and so the references to them should be seen not so much as parodies as learned allusions, appropriate in a work so rich in intertextual connections with the Greek historiographical tradition.

Beyond specific allusions to other historians, however, the text of the *VH* itself operates as a demonstration of several of Lucian's own precepts for the writing of history.[80] The *VH* and the *De Historia Conscribenda* are closely connected within Lucian's total oeuvre: the historiographical treatise provides the theoretical basis, and numerous examples of targets, for the parody of lying historians in the *VH*.[81] Connections between the two works are readily apparent in the Preface to the *VH*. Lucian begins (1.1) by introducing the athletes and people who are interested in the care of the body (τὴν τῶν σωμάτων ἐπιμέλειαν). The immediate mention of athletes recalls the athletic motif running through the *Hist.*, in which Lucian first pictures history as an athlete (8; 9; 10) then, in the latter part of the treatise, the historian as an athlete (30; 34), and finally himself as a trainer of those with inborn talent (35). Just as athletes need relaxation, so the readers of more serious works may profit from the lighter fare of the *VH*.

In *VH* 1.4, Lucian confesses his surprise that liars think they can get away with it, just as he remarked in *Hist.* 13 that only an absolute fool would believe obviously unfounded praise. He then says that he wants to leave something for posterity for reasons of vanity (καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπὸ κενοδοξίας ἀπολιπεῖν τι σπουδάσας τοῖς μεθ' ἡμᾶς). This recalls the constant harping on the future, and the need to leave a monument, in the *Hist.* (5, 9, 13, 40, 42, 61–3). In *VH* 2.28, this desire is realized in the couplet composed by Homer which is inscribed on a stele of beryl and set up in the harbour on the Isle of the Blessed. He continues that he does not want to be the only one without a share

[79] Both battles have Thucydidean reminiscences, see Stengel (1911) 22–5; 44–47.

[80] The chronology of the Lucianic corpus is difficult to determine because of the paucity of the evidence, but it is probable that the *VH* is later than the *Hist.* which, on the basis of internal and historical evidence, is generally dated to 165 or 166 CE. See Hall (1981) 28–29; Macleod (1991) 284.

[81] For a detailed study of the relationship and also of the similarities between Lucian's views of historiography and those of Polybius, see G-L (1994) 1448–1509.

in the freedom to tell stories (ἵνα μὴ ἄμοιρος ὦ τῆς ἐν τῷ μυθολογεῖν ἐλευθερίας). The desire not to be left out of the general chorus appears at the beginning of the *Hist.* (4), where Lucian says he is writing to avoid being the only silent one (ἄφωνος) in such a polyphonic time (ἐν οὕτω πολυφώνῳ τῷ καιρῷ).

The narrative of the *VH* tells of a sea-voyage and, as such, is connected with the voyage theme in the *Hist.* There, Lucian says he will keep away "from the steam and surge" and the worries that beset the historian: the quotation comes from Homer, *Od.* 12.219, describing the waters of the Wandering Rocks, near Scylla and Charybdis (4). This introduces the idea of the historian as a sailor, which is elaborated as the treatise proceeds. The sea of history is dangerous, and the ability to avoid rocks and whirlpools is a necessary skill. In 45, when Lucian recommends a touch of poetry for the historian in dealing with battles on land and sea, he adds:

> δεήσει γὰρ τότε ποιητικοῦ τινος ἀνέμου ἐπουριάσοντος τὰ ἀκάτια καὶ συνδιοίσοντος ὑψηλὴν καὶ ἐπ' ἄκρων κυμάτων τὴν ναῦν.
>
> for then he will need some poetic wind, wafting his boats onwards and helping to carry his ship along on high atop the waves.

He continues in this passage with a warning against getting over-excited (παρακινῆσαι) and "carried off into the Corybantic frenzy of poetry" (κατενεχθῆναι ἐς τὸν τῆς ποιητικῆς κορύβαντα). He then compares the historian's language to a runner trying to keep up with the historian's mind on horseback. This passage is connected with the opening of the *Hist.* where the Abderites are presented as declaiming Euripides' *Andromeda* (1): this offers another combination of maritime and equestrian motifs, since Andromeda was rescued from the sea-monster by Perseus, who rode on Pegasus, the flying horse.[82] There are, of course, numerous creatures which are ridden like horses in the Moon episode of the *VH*, and the narrator's ship is first airborne and then swallowed by a sea-monster.

The image of the historian's sea voyage is emphatically restated at the end of the *Hist.* in the story of Sostratus, the architect who built the Pharos lighthouse, the biggest and most beautiful work of all (62): its purpose is to provide light for sailors, so that they do not get carried off (καταφέροιντο) to Paraetonia, a very difficult (παγχάλε-

---

[82] In the first painting described in *De Domo*, 22, Perseus is killing the sea-monster and rescuing Andromeda.

πον) place to navigate, with no escape if you run into the rocks. The inscription, hidden by Sostratus behind the name of the reigning king, reads "Sostratus, son of Dexiphanes, of Cnidos, to the Saviour Gods, for the sake of those sailing". So, Lucian adds, even this architect looked to the future, rather than to the present. He looked to this [i.e. Lucian's] time and to eternity (εἰς τὸν νῦν καὶ τὸν ἀεί), for as long as the tower stands and his skill lasts. This takes on added significance when connected with the *VH*: Paraetonia is about 180 miles west of Alexandria.[83] In the *VH*, the movement of the ship is also in a westerly direction (at least initially—after that it is impossible to tell) and it begins even further away, appropriately enough, from the guiding light of the Pharos tower. This time the sailors gradually lose control of the ship and it is carried up to the moon and then swallowed by a whale. At the end of the narrative (2.47), the ship is actually destroyed, and the sailors have to swim ashore. Perhaps that is why Lucian chose to stop at this point: the ship of *historia* has been completely wrecked on the rocks of a continent which the sailors believe to be the opposite of their own (τὴν ἀντιπέρας). The promise to continue the story in a third book recalls the historian of *Hist.* 31, who promises to write about future events: in both cases the planned narrative will treat purely imaginary happenings.[84] The sailors guided by the lighthouse, then, are the writers of history who must stay away from the rocks of Paraetonia, like the Wandering Rocks of *Odyssey* 12. 219 alluded to in *Hist.* 4. The architect of the lighthouse is perhaps Lucian himself, and it is a construction which guides other historians.

Connections with the *Hist.* can also be seen in the style of the narrative of the *VH*: for example, the events of the journey are reported in a clear and accurate manner (cf. *Hist.* 43), without rhetorical excesses. The *VH* avoids the mixing of *historia* and *poetike* so roundly criticized in the treatise, at least in the area of language; the content, of course, is perniciously poetic and mythical. On several occasions, the narrator uses the methods specifically recommended for the historian in *Hist.* He appears, for instance, to be suitably concerned with telling the truth: in 1.13, at the end of the catalogue

[83] Macleod (1991) 302 ch. 62.

[84] On the possible non-seriousness of the promise, see Anderson (1976c) 11; Fusillo (1988) 116–17; Bompaire (1958) 673 takes the statement at face value. The scholiast [Rabe, 24.47] notes that "the end, with its unfounded promise is the biggest lie" (καὶ τὸ τέλος ψευδέστατον μετὰ τῆς ἀνυποστάτου ἐπαγγελίας).

of the forces of Endymion, the narrator says of one particular contingent that he has not seen them, so he did not dare to write about them, because marvellous and unbelievable things were reported. Other evidence of a reliable historical methodology is provided by the citations of the inscription in 1.7, the full text of the treaty in 1.20, the conversations with Scintharus in 1.33 and with Homer in 2.20, the Homeric couplet in 2.28, and the letter from Odysseus to Calypso in 2.35. He even corrects other accounts, such as in 2.32–3, where he points out that Homer's description of the Dreams (cf. *Od.* 19.562–567) was not quite accurate (οὐ πάνυ ἀκριβῶς συνέγραψεν).

Elsewhere, we see the narrator using his powers of interpretation and reason, which again inspires confidence in his veracity: for example, in 1.10, he assumes, from his vantage-point on the moon, that the world "below" is the one they left behind. In the narrative of the *VH*, numbers are presented with an apparently conscientious concern for accuracy. This happens whether the numbers are reasonable or ridiculous. In the account of the forces of Endymion, for instance, the narrator gives the figure of 100,000 as the total, with 80,000 allies (plus another 75,000 who did not come) and an infantry of 60,000,000 (1.13–15). The forces of Phaethon are enumerated in corresponding detail (1.16), but the narrator (1.18) refuses to give the number of the Nephelocentaurs "lest someone think it incredible, it was so large". This suggests that the narrator is fully aware that his numbers may not be believed.

In addition, the *VH* utilizes and often parodies several other varieties of literary composition which are related to historical narrative. One of these is the *Periplus*, a record of a sea-voyage to some faraway place;[85] this is represented by the *Periplus of the Red Sea* and the fragmentary accounts which we have of the travels of adventurers like Pytheas of Massilia, who apparently explored the area outside the Pillars of Heracles perhaps around 320 BCE. He recorded his experiences and discoveries in a work entitled Τὰ περὶ τοῦ Ὠκεανοῦ.[86]

---

[85] For this genre, see Schoff (1912) and Casson (1989) on *The Periplus Maris Erythrae*; Carpenter (1966) and Blomqvist (1989) on Hanno's *Periplus*; cf. Romm (1992) 19–20; 196–202; Güngerich (1950); Pédech (1978). For the circumnavigation of Africa and the travels of Scylax, see Herodotus 4.42–4; *FGrH* 709; *GGM* 1.15–96.

[86] The title is preserved in Geminus, 6.9; see "Pytheas von Massalia" *RE* cols. 314–66 [Gisinger]; "Zone" *RE Suppl.* B. 14, cols. 1028–33 [Abel]; Mette (1952); Dion (1966). See also Romm (1992) 9–26; 156–71. The issue of Pytheas' reliability and the veracity of the various accounts of the geography of the area outside

The question of the reliability of the accounts of Atlantic travellers like Pytheas was bound up with the intense debate over Homer's geography, and, in particular, the location of the wanderings of Odysseus.[87] Lucian could well have been interested in this debate. In *VH* 1.5, the narrator immediately sails out through the Pillars of Heracles on a voyage which constantly alludes to its Odyssean predecessor. Lucian also draws upon the tradition of Paradoxography, which collected stories and information of a particularly unbelievable nature. By his day, *Mirabilia* and *Paradoxa* were appearing in collections,[88] and such improbable fictions are no doubt one target of the satire of the *VH*. The closest modern equivalent is probably the "Believe it or not!" columns about "strange" customs of foreign peoples which were popular in Victorian magazines. Utopian philosophical schemes, such as those of Plato, may also have been an important source for Lucian; these are parodied most extensively in the visit to the Isle of the Blessed, but some of the details of the life of the Moonmen seem to be drawn from utopian visions.[89] The connection between the marvellous and the utopian lies in the notion of escape, and the two are found blended in the visions of Euhemerus and Iambulus.[90] They are representative of the genre of the travel narrative with utopian and philosophical overtones. Their work can hardly be called history, although the increasingly broad geographical range of historians like Hecataeus, Megasthenes and Onesicritus did provide a store of information about strange places on which

---

the Atlantic is discussed by Polybius 34.5.1–7.14 and Strabo 2.4.1–3; 2.4.8. Polybius found it completely unbelievable that a private citizen, and a poor man at that, could ever have travelled over such vast distances either by sea or land (Str. 2.4.2 [Polybius 34.5.7]). Strabo 1.4.5 charges that certain islands in the north are "inventions of Pytheas" (cf. 4.2.1).

[87] For a good survey of this topic, see Romm (1992) ch. 5 "Geography and Fiction" 173–214, espec. 183–96; see also Pocock (1959). The subject is discussed by Polybius (34.2.1–4.8) and Strabo (1.2.24). There were two schools of thought among those who believed that Homer's geographical details corresponded to actual places (like Aristarchus and Crates of Mallos): one held that the travels of Odysseus took place outside the Pillars of Heracles, the other that they occurred around Italy and Sicily. The problem is complicated by the fact that Homer refers to the Ocean explicitly in the *Odyssey* (1.50; 6.204; 11.82; 12.1), as Strabo noted (1.2.18). The former view was championed by Crates, the latter by Aristarchus (see Aul. Gell. 14.6.3), who was supported by Polybius (34.4.4–8) and Strabo (1.2.18).

[88] For fragments, see *PG*.

[89] For an account of ancient utopian thought, see Ferguson (1975); Doyne Dawson (1992); for biblical parallels, see Alexandre (1988). See also Baldwin (1961).

[90] See W.E. Brown (1955); Rohde (1893).

they could draw.[91] The combining of history and myth is conveniently illustrated by what we know of the *Marvels* (*Θαυμάσια*), a digression which Theopompus seems to have inserted into books 8 and 9 of his *Philippica.* In a digression in his 8th book on Philip, Theopompus breaks off to narrate the story of the land of Meropis which was told to Midas by Silenus;[92] Midas got him drunk by putting wine in his spring and forced him to answer questions about "nature and things of old". Silenus told him that the known world is a collection of islands and about a boundless other world beyond the Ocean, where the inhabitants are twice as large as here and live twice as long. Their customs are very different. Two states exist there, Μάχιμος and Εὐσεβής: the citizens of the first have power and wealth, but are militaristic and have short lives, dying in battle or of disease; those of the latter live in peace and have abundant natural resources, are free from disease and injustice, and are happy. There is also a people called the Meropes, with a number of large cities, including one called Anostos (No Return) which is described as follows (preserved by Aelian, writing a generation after Lucian, in his *Varia Historia* 3.18.7–9):

> It is like a chasm covered by neither darkness nor light, and the air hangs over it a mixed muddy red colour. Two rivers flow around this place, one called the River of Pleasure, the other of Sorrow. Trees the size of tall plane trees grow beside these two rivers. The trees by the River of Sorrow bear fruit of the following kind: if anyone tastes it, he sheds so many tears as to dissolve his entire life away in lamentation and so he dies. On the other hand, the trees which grow by the River of pleasure bear the opposite fruit: whoever tastes it loses all his former cares. Even if he loved anyone, he forgets this too and he becomes young little by little. He regains the earlier past phases of his life. He sheds old age and returns to his prime, then to the age of youthfulness, then becomes a boy, then a baby, and after that ceases to exist.

The *Marvels* appears to have dealt with famous prophets and their miracles and the truths they revealed. Aelian (*VH* 3.18.1) refers to Theopompus as an excellent storyteller (δεινὸς μυθολόγος), while Cicero notes his *innumerabiles fabulae* (*Leg.* 1.5).[93] Here then, perhaps, we have an author whom Lucian might have selected as one of his targets

[91] See T.S. Brown (1946). On the wonders of India and Africa in historical writing, see Romm (1992) 82–123. See also Rohde (1914) 178–309, espec. 190–209.
[92] *FGrH* 115 F75c [Aelian *Var. Hist.* 3.18].
[93] Shrimpton (1991) 15–21.

in the *VH*.[94] He was familiar with Theopompus as a historian, since he refers to him in his treatise on historiography (*Hist.* 59) and in *Pseudol.* 29, a precious sophist refers to his "three-barbed book". The Silenus figure provides a possible link through a Dionysian theme; in the *prolalia Dionysus*—which may have been a preliminary to the *VH*[95]—the spring of Silenus is described: when an old man drinks from it, he acquires a splendid voice and becomes very talkative, and delivers sensible and well-ordered speeches like Odysseus. Lucian presents himself as one of these old men, and remarks that if what he says seems sensible, then Silenus has been favourable to him (7). The first incident in the narrative of the travellers, of course, is the encounter with the Vine-women and the intoxication from the river of wine. This is all rather reminiscent of the story of Silenus in Theopompus' digression and the connection is strengthened by the fact that the narrator notices that the wine in the river on the Island of the Vine-women is "very like Chian". This could be an allusion to Theopompus, as well as to Homer: both were thought to have been born on Chios. It serves Lucian's purpose equally well to allude to a historian who was well known, if not notorious, for his mythical tales. Aelian concludes his account of the city of No Return with the statement: "let that be believed if the Chian is to be trusted at all when he tells stories. I think he is a clever story-teller in this and in other things besides". The allegorical and revelatory aspects of Theopompus' *mirabilia* seem to be echoed by Lucian; the two cities of Μάχιμος and Εὐσεβής have parallels in the Sun and the Moon in *VH* 1, perhaps, or maybe in the contrast between the combative life in the celestial realm and the peaceful life of the souls in the Isle of the Blessed. Even there, however, war threatens, when the souls of the Wicked break out of their confinement, and there is a sombre suggestion that the idyll is not a complete utopia: this echoes the rather ambivalent condition of the Meropes, with their River of Grief. The light in the Isle of the Blessed is like the grey at dawn; in Anostos, the quality of the illumination is similar. Finally, the name Anostos itself may be parodied in the *VH*, by having the travellers actually leave the abode of the Blessed, and, presumably, return to the world whence they came, until they die.[96]

---

[94] Hall (1981) 341.
[95] See G-L (1995).
[96] Alternatively, of course, the idea may be that the voyagers do *not* return to their homeland; this is bound up with allusions to the *Odyssey*, which may also have

The description of the idyllic abode of the Blessed may also have drawn on another Theopompan purple passage, the description of Tempe, the valley of the Peneus river (ap. Ael. *Var. Hist.* 3.1).[97] The *Marvels* also contained a discussion of Persian religion, including the deities Ahriman/Areimanius and Oromasdes/Oromazes; it is mentioned by Diogenes Laertius (1.8–9) and is the source of a similar disquisition in Plut. *De Is. et Os.* 370A–C. This includes several details which may have made their way into Lucian's Moon episode: for example, Areimanius, born from the darkness, and Oromazes, born from pure light, are constantly at war with each other. Oromazes created the Dog-Star to watch over all the others and created twenty-four gods whom he put in an egg.[98]

The travel narrative (which was always prone to include description of bizarre people, places and events) is shading into fiction and romance by this stage. The blending of genres is well encapsulated by Ferguson (122): "Quite reputable historians and geographers might incorporate fictitious Utopias in otherwise sober works; those with a political view to put over, especially one which, though they might not admit it, was escapist, added verisimilitude by giving it a remote but plausible location in time and space". Euhemerus wrote *The Sacred Inscription*, an account of a voyage to Panchaia, a sacred island in the Indian Ocean and of an inscription on a gold stele which told of the deeds of Uranus, Zeus, Artemis and Apollo, demonstrating that the gods were originally generals, admirals and kings who lived a long time ago (Diod. 5.41.4–46; 6.1.3).[99] His description of the island includes the standard elements of utopian landscapes—abundant frankincense and myrrh, vines, mines of gold and silver, and supplies of water. One spring produces a navigable river; the river on Lucian's Island of the Vine-women is also navigable and this, together with the inscription on the island relating to two figures of semi-divine origin, may indicate some Euhemeran influence. The description of the forest inside the whale in *VH* I.34 may be a

---

been a subtext for the Theopompan adventure. Odysseus' return to Ithaca was perhaps the most celebrated *nostos* of all in the Greek literary tradition. He also "returned" from the Underworld.

[97] *FGrH* F80; the passage in Aelian is probably derived from Theopompus, *Phil.* 9 (see Shrimpton [1991] 110).

[98] Shrimpton (1991) 16–17.

[99] See also *FGrH* 63 F1–3; Plut. *De Is. et Os.* 360A; Polyb. 34.5.9; Str. 2.4.2; Lactant. *Inst. Div.* 1.11; Pöhlman (1925) 2.293–305; Ferguson (1975) 104–8; Holzberg (1996a) 621–8.

parody of Euhemerus' description of Panchaia (Diod. 5.42.4–43.3). Euhemerus invents place-names[100] while Lucian, of course, invents all sorts of names. One of the notable features of Panchaia is the class structure (Diod. 5.45.3–5) and the Moonmen and the lamps of Lychnopolis are likewise divided into rich and poor. In his account, Euhemerus mentions that the islanders trade with various familiar places, such as Arabia and Egypt. This lends verisimilitude to the fictional island, much in the manner that the realistic details of the *VH* make the story seem almost credible at certain points. Euhemerus is particularly concerned with explaining how the sun, moon, stars and heaven were originally humans: for example, the island of Panchaia is associated with the sun, and the Sun god is said to be the son of Oceanus (Pliny *HN* 7.57). Perhaps this is echoed in the presentation of the Moon and the Sun as inhabited like the earth in the *VH*. It is also quite striking that the *VH* is almost completely devoid of divine figures: there is an inscription of Dionysus and Heracles on the Island of the Vine-women, and a shrine of Poseidon in the whale, but gods do not appear as characters in the story. The treatment of the gods in the *VH* would possibly have been recognized by Lucian's reader as a parody of Euhemerus, with whose work they were probably familiar.

Iambulus is mentioned in the introduction to the *VH* as one of the writers whom the reader should expect to see parodied and alluded to. His account of his travels to the Islands of the Sun, *The Wonders of the Great Ocean* (Περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ θαλάττῃ πολλὰ παράδοξα) is summarized by Diodorus (2.55–60).[101] The journey takes four months over storm-tossed seas but the two travellers eventually reach the Islands of the Sun. These, it seems, were described at length and afforded the occasion for Iambulus to explore his interest in education and Stoic philosophy. In addition to the general concept of the narrative, some of the details may have been imitated by Lucian: for instance, the inhabitants are hairless except on the head (the Moonmen are completely bald); wives and children are held in common (in the Isle of the Blessed, wives are shared). Lucian may also have known of the establishment of a "City of the Sun" (Heliopolis) by Aristonicus in the 2nd century BCE. This was

[100] See Ferguson (1975) 105.
[101] Pöhlman (1925) 2.305–17; Ferguson (1975) 124–9; 175–6; see also Richter (1888); Mossé (1969); Winston (1956); (1976); Vernière (1988).

apparently based—or to be based—on principles of social equality.[102]

The *VH* also owes some debt to the novel or romance, which recounted a series of adventures and encounters with strange and marvellous creatures.[103] The *Alexander Romance*, in its various forms, was especially popular and may well have been one of Lucian's sources of inspiration.[104] Antonius Diogenes' *The Wonders beyond Thule* (Τὰ ὑπὲρ Θούλην Ἄπιστα) poses special difficulties when it comes to an assessment of the probable sources Lucian used for his *VH*.[105] This work, perhaps best described as a travel-romance, included a trip to the moon (cf. Phot. *Bibl.* 111a7–11). Photius says that it appears (ἔοικεν) to be the πηγὴ καὶ ῥίζα of Lucian's *VH* and Lucius' *Metamorphoseis*. There would seem to be some support for this in a comment made by the scholiast on *VH* 2.12, εἰς τὰ ὑπὲρ Θούλην τερατολογούμενα ἐπισκώπτει: the scholiast is presumably indicating that Lucian is echoing Antonius Diogenes, either in his description of the absence of real night on the Isle of the Blessed,[106] or in the episode as a whole. The hypothesis of direct and substantial borrowing by Lucian from Antonius is proposed, with much ingenuity, by Reyhl. He reconstructs Antonius Diogenes' work partly from the *VH*, on the basis of Photius' statement that it was the "source and root" for Lucian (111b36–8). He sees no reason to doubt Photius, since he knew both works (32) and the *VH* shows a striking similarity with the journey of Deinias (33). For instance, discussing the trip to the Moon in *VH* 1.9–29, Reyhl notes (37) that a lunar journey was included in the *Wonders Beyond Thule* (111a7–8). He links the *VH* with the *Icar.*, but claims that the similarities between the two are mini-

---

[102] Goodenough (1928); Bidez (1932); Dumont (1966); Ferguson (1975) 144–5; Ruiz-Montero (1996). On Utopia in general, see Gerber (1955), Jameson (1977); and on its links with Science Fiction, see Suvin (1972) and (1976) and Moylan (1986), with bibliography.

[103] On the connections between Lucian's *VH* and the romances in general, see Anderson (1976c) 83–120, espec. 84–5; 90–1; 93–5; 100; (1996). Both Kytzler (1983) 5–8 and Holzberg (1996b) 16 place the *VH* in the category of narratives "which are made up, but still seem very realistic", as defined by Macrobius (*In Somn. Scip.* 1.2.7–8).

[104] The *Alex. Rom.* was probably in a form similar to the A recension by the 3rd or 2nd century BCE; A itself may be as late as the 3rd cent. CE. See further, Stoneman (1991) 8–17; (1994); Romm (1992) 109–120.

[105] See Di Gregorio (1968); Reyhl (1969); Stephens and Winkler (1995) 101–72; on Ultima Thule in general, see Romm (1992) 121–71; cf. 205–214 on Antonius Diogenes and Lucian.

[106] Rabe, 21; Reyhl (1969) 33; Hall (1981) 574 n. 50.

mal: in *Icar.*, Lucian mainly follows a Cynic source, and in the *VH* a Pythagorean one. If Lucian did not use his own earlier work for the *VH*, it is likely that he used Antonius Diogenes as his *Hauptquelle*. Life on the Moon is another topic treated by both Lucian and Antonius. In his summary, Photius (111a9–11) says rather caustically of the travellers that they saw on the moon what it was obvious for someone to see who has imagined so many fantastic inventions. Reyhl thinks there may have been a Pythagorean flavour to the account. He suggests that Lucian is following the Pythagorean belief that the hills and valleys of the moon were inhabited by fantastic creatures,[107] which Antonius Diogenes had explained in his work (42–3).[108] As far as the account of lunar life in the *VH* is concerned, Reyhl concludes that Lucian has contaminated the "genuine Pythagorean model" of life on the moon with motifs of travel paradoxography from Ctesias' *Indica* (44).

Anderson does not accept Reyhl's thesis, arguing that he "has used Lucian to reconstruct Antonius in much the same way as Helm had used him to recreate Menippus" (2).[109] He also points out that "there is no need to promote Antonius above Herodotus, Ctesias or Aristophanes" (7). Hall rejects most of Reyhl's thesis for similar reasons to Anderson (338–54). The idea that Lucian was dependent on Antonius at all is challenged by Morgan,[110] who makes the point that Photius regards Antonius as the "source and root" of several other works, so that he simply means that he is their precursor as a narrator of marvellous tales. He also casts doubt on the date when Antonius was writing: the only firm evidence comes from two papyrus fragments dated about 200 CE. Macleod[111] notes that Antonius calls himself a poet of old comedy and suggests that the element of satirical humour in his narrative may have been underestimated by Photius, who perhaps did not appreciate it or failed to convey it in his synopsis: "After all Antonius did describe his contents as ἄπιστα

---

[107] Stob. 1.26.1; *DG* 361; see Commentary, n. on 11–21.29, below.

[108] Another example is provided by the dead children of the Moonmen, who come to life when blown on: this is taken from the Orphico-Pythagorean concept that the soul hangs in the air and through the *pneuma* moves into a new body (46); cf. *Orphica* ap. Arist. *De Anim.* 410b: τὴν ψυχὴν ἐκ τοῦ ὅλου εἰσιέναι ἀναπνεόντων φερομένην ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνέμων.

[109] Anderson (1976c) 1–7.

[110] Morgan (1985).

[111] Macleod (1994) 1396.

καὶ ψευδῆ. The satirical spirit may have permeated the whole of Antonius' work, regardless of his date, in much the same way as it did *VH* and indeed *Philopseudes* also". Swain argues along the same lines, suggesting that Antonius' work, with its complicated narrative structure and chain of narrators, overtly demonstrates that it is "as intentionally parodic" as Lucian's *VH*.[112]

If there was some sustained satire of the Pythagoreans and their beliefs in the work of Antonius Diogenes,[113] this might tend to support the idea of some indebtedness on the part of Lucian, since the *VH* is primarily—although by no means solely—concerned with philosophical parody. Ultimately, however, Photius' description of Antonius' narrative as the "source and root" of the *VH* remains enigmatic.[114] He is, in the final analysis, only conveying an opinion, and in a passage which has a curiously vague tone—a passage, after all, in which the verb ἔοικεν is used three times.

3. *Philosophy*

Finally, and most significantly, the famous philosophers and their conceits, as well as the various schools which are associated with them, are constantly alluded to and ridiculed in the *VH*. Lucian burlesques the doctrines of Platonists, Stoics, Orphico-Pythagoreans and Peripatetics, and toys with figures like Empedocles and Socrates. Given that he only refers in general terms to the philosophers in his Introduction, and does not mention any by name, one might expect that the *VH* is more concerned with the parody of Homer and the lying historians like Ctesias than it is with making fun of the philosophers. But, in fact, it is the philosophers who are the primary object of parody in the *VH*: they are, significantly, the only group mentioned twice in the Introduction. Lucian's field of fire is broad (and perhaps this is why he does not name names in the Introduction): while we may (prompted by the scholiast's assertion) view him as perhaps especially indebted to Plato's myth of Er, he takes in elements from just about every major school of the Greek philosophical tradition and subjects them all to a more or less critical eye. He is, however, more tolerant of certain schools—Epicurus and the Cynics

---

112 Swain (1992).
113 Reitzenstein (1906) 17–18; 31; Merkelbach (1962) 225–33; Fauth (1978).
114 See also Rohde (1914) 269–309, espec. 277, para. 258.

are dealt with more gently than the Stoics, for instance—and seems to have considerable respect for Plato and Pythagoras, even if he finds the excesses of some of their latter-day followers ridiculous.

In the case of the philosophers, the role of the reader in deciphering the allusions in the text is more complex. Lucian does not expect his audience simply to identify the authors he is parodying—for this results in a limited understanding of his text—but, rather, to appreciate which philosophical concepts, presuppositions and theories he is satirizing through the fantastic creatures and places he presents. Thus there are at least two levels of interpretation, or of decipherment, involved: the first level consists of identifying the author(s) or the work(s) which may have been Lucian's primary source of inspiration. To take one example, when the travellers arrive at a place where they are arrested, and then provide help and are promised a happy life (i.e. on the Moon in *VH* 1.11–21), this recalls, for example, Iambulus (ap. Diod. 2.55.4–5) where the two captured sailors are used to purify Ethiopia and are sent to an island where they are offered a happy existence. In broader philosophical terms, however, Lucian is making an enquiry into the notion of *eudaimonia* and satirizing the utopian ideals of writers like Plato. Or, to take another example, the children on the moon who are born dead (1.22), and the Moonmen with one toe (1.23) and plane-leaf ears (1.25), may be partly derived from Ctesias (49b25–38), who refers to people who are born old and die young, who have eight-fingers (and toes), and ears down to the elbow. The detail of the plane-leaf ears is, however, richly allusive in philosophical terms: the plane tree is associated with Socrates, through the famous scene in the *Phaedrus* and the combination of flesh with plant can be taken as making fun of Empedocles, who made no fundamental distinction between animal and vegetable forms of life.[115] Thus, in many cases, the fantastic elements of the *VH* are not simply imaginative flourishes or reworkings of *mirabilia* found in poets or historians; they are also subtle allusions to philosophical doctrines. It is the task of the reader to look behind the "disguise", to find out what theory or dogma is being ridiculed in any given situation.

The subject of philosophers and their doctrines occupies much of Lucian's energy in his corpus, and is closely connected with the

---

[115] Empedocles A 82 [D-K]; cf. B 99 and Guthrie (1962–81) 2.209–10; see also Verdenius (1977).

process of learning about absolute and relative truth. Swanson (1975) suggests that Lucian's *VH* "exposes philosophy, ostensibly a mode of inquiry into truth, as being patently effective, once it has come to a terminus in belief, only to the degree that it serves falsehood" (230) and proposes that the narrative can best be categorized as "philosophical science fiction" (231). His point is that Lucian outsmarts the philosophers by presenting fiction which lies in a manner superior to that which they practise (228). Philosophers are "practitioners of cognition who serve their cognitive methods much more than they serve truth". Lucian considers philosophy as "predispositional to belief, which all too frequently breeds unawareness" and conversely regards fiction as "serving truth by means of its constant sustenance of awareness" (229).

The narrative is not merely a physical trip analogous to real sea-voyages, but a journey of the mind and a quest for the truth. This search for enlightenment brings the traveller into contact with the representatives and ideas of numerous philosophical schools. In the many battles and wars which punctuate the journey are embodied the philosophical wranglings and rivalries which Lucian so often ridicules. The trip is unreal, not only because of the outlandish details which the author presents, but because he is giving us an account of another journey, one which is allegorical in its form. The voyager is on an intellectual trip: his ears, eyes and other primary senses are not involved. The reader, likewise, must be ready to look beyond the superficial meaning of such comic details as the Moonmen with cabbages on their bottoms to the philosophical doctrines which these creatures "embody". The lies of the philosophers are concealed by their external appearance; the strange appearance of the hybrids masks the content of Lucian's satire in the same manner. A similar idea lies behind the depiction of gods as animals in *Deor. Conc.* 10–11: Zeus says these are matters of symbolism (αἰνίγματα) and the uninitiated really should not laugh at them. In *J. Trag.* 27–8, the riddles of the Stoics are likened to Apollo's speech, for which an interpreter is needed; the *VH* is, of course, a vast riddle and may therefore be seen, in one sense, as a parody of Stoic linguistic practice. When Lucian parodies Platonic myth-making, he is ridiculing yet another form of riddling speech.

To appreciate the allusions to philosophy in the *VH*, it is necessary to consider two types of intertexts: firstly, Lucian's other works which

deal with philosophers and their disputes, such as the *Fugitivi*,[116] *Hermotimus*,[117] *Piscator*,[118] and *Symposium*.[119] Throughout these works, five motifs are consistently associated with philosophers: ascent towards knowledge, drinking wine, arguing, disguise, and the difficulty of telling truth from fiction. In the *VH*, these five motifs appear again, and form the basis of Lucian's parody. The *VH* is unique in his oeuvre, in that it brings together into one complex text the issues which form the basis of many of the philosophical dialogues. Secondly, one must consider the Greek philosophical tradition as a whole, especially the most important schools, such as the Platonists, Pythagoreans and Stoics. The latter is a tall order indeed and cannot be adequately summarized in an Introduction; more details will be found in the Commentary. In the *VH*, Lucian makes fun of various schools and doctrines. The philosophical theories which are parodied in the bizarre attributes of the Moonmen, for instance, are not those of one particular school, but a mixture of several.[120] Similarly, in *Herm.* 85, Lycinus makes it clear that his attack on the Stoa applies to all the other philosophical schools (such as those of Plato or Aristotle); he has no

[116] This elaborates on Lucian's distinction between the "true" philosophers and the numerous charlatans who are frequently the target of his satire. In 10, Philosophy describes the fake philosophers, the tribe of sophists, as something mixed, "like the Hippocentaurs". The motif of the hybrid is, of course, used very frequently in the *VH*. Philosophy says that these newcomers cannot be distinguished by external characteristics (15) because they try their best to imitate the true philosophers. On the *Fugitivi* and the others listed here, see G-L (1996).

[117] Longo (1964) sees this work as the culmination of Lucian's treatment of philosophy and philosophers. It associates philosophical knowledge with an ascent of a hill and ridicules the disagreements among the various schools, each of which claims to know the way to the truth.

[118] In this dialogue, Frankness (Parrhesiades) points out the faults of the fake philosophers, so that people can distinguish the charlatans from their ancient and genuine predecessors. Among the elements which reappear in the *VH* are the military metaphors, the motif of disguise, and the association of various philosophers with certain animals—in this instance, fish. See Macleod (1991) 258–63 and Anderson (1976a) 141–2 and 143–5 on parallels with *Timon*; Swanson (1975) 233 comments that in this dialogue Lucian "seeks to restore a scale of values by establishing the superiority of truth to philosophy, of philosophy to philosophers, and of philosophers to their adherents".

[119] See Anderson (1976a) 146–8. This dialogue makes fun of the quarrelsome character of philosophers, and includes a fight which ends when the light is knocked over, recalling the eclipse which stops the war in the lunar episode of the *VH* (1.19).

[120] See Knauer (1904); Helm (1906) 371–86, App. 5 "Die Philosophen in der Komödie"; B. Schwartz (1914); Tackaberry (1930); McCarthy (1934); Householder (1941).

particular grudge against this one.[121] In the *VH*, the satire ranges over a broad area: the voyage and the initiation motifs allude to journeys of the soul and myths of the Orphico-Pythagorean and Platonic variety; the descriptions of the Moon and the Isles of the Blessed and the Wicked parody Platonic, Pythagorean and Stoic accounts of the afterlife;[122] the hybrid creatures and the mixing of human, animal and vegetable forms make fun of Empedoclean and Pythagorean theories;[123] and finally there are various details which ridicule individual philosophers such as Empedocles, Socrates and Zeno.[124]

Lucian's parodies ridicule the "serious" works of poets, historians and philosophers and the stylistic features of other authors by placing bits and pieces of them in the ridiculous context of his fantastic voyage. The *VH* is driven by the force of parody, a force which appropriates and delegitimizes other texts, while, at the same time, guaranteeing their continued existence.[125] Although parody and satire are not the same,[126] Lucian's text acquires much of its satirical effect from its parodies. The act of recognition, on which parody depends for its effectiveness, is also basic to the functioning of satire.

IV. *The* Verae Historiae, *Satire and Science Fiction*

Satire

The genre of the Imaginary Voyage and the various modes in which it can be written—including the satiric, allegorical, and utopian—are discussed by Gove, in a wide-ranging study which includes a

---

[121] The personal perspective of an author as playful and protean as Lucian is difficult to ascertain; he seems relatively well disposed to Menippus and to Epicurus, and in particular to the Sceptics, and less well inclined towards the Platonists and the Stoics. In *Vit. Auct.* 27, the last to be auctioned is the Pyrrhonian or Sceptic.

[122] Cumont (1942) 190 links Lucian's *VH* with philosophers who explain the sojourn of souls on the moon and their voyage thither, cf. Préaux (1973) 183.

[123] The cabbages which grow on the backsides of the Moonmen (1.23) and their ears of wood or plane-leaves (1.25) apparently poke fun at Empedocles' denial of a clear distinction between animal and vegetable life-forms: in fr. 82, he says that hair, leaves, scales and birds' wings are the same; for details, see Guthrie (1962–81) 2.209–10.

[124] E.g. the Millet-throwers (Κεγχροβόλοι) of *VH* 1.13 may allude to one of the "logical puzzles" which Zeno of Elea concocted, the "Millet Seed"; see A 29 [D-K]; Guthrie (1962–81) 2.81; Lee (1936) 37–8; 110; Arist. *Phys.* 250a19.

[125] See Hutcheon (1985) 69–83.

[126] See Dane (1980); Hutcheon (1985) 43–9; Petr et al. (1985); Rose (1993) 80–6.

survey of the massive 36-volume collection of such narratives by Charles Garnier.[127] Lucian's *True Histories* probably had some significant influence on such works as Cyrano de Bergerac's *Les États et Empires de la Lune* (1656) and Daniel Defoe's *The Consolidator: Or, Memoirs of Sundry Transactions from the World in the Moon* (1705), but especially on Swift's *Gulliver's Travels*. It is Part 3 in particular, with the voyage to Laputa, the flying island, and other episodic adventures, which seems most reminiscent of Lucian's satirical narrative.[128] In her study of satire and allegory, Leyburn notes that "the union has, in fact, been more than occasional" (8) although she cites Lucian's *True Histories*, not as an instance of satiric allegory but as a contrast to Swift's *Gulliver's Travels*: "the charm of Lucian is the feeling of pure caprice, the sharing of his own joy in prodigal invention, with an occasional comment on mankind tossed in apparently just for an extra fillip of interest. The parallels with Swift throw into startling relief Swift's controlled precision of meaning" (75).[129] In fact, however, the affinity which Leyburn demonstrates between satire and allegory may be recognized in Lucian's text, albeit in a slightly different form: the parody on the allegorical level of the philosophers' arguments and theories about the journey of the soul functions as a means of criticism and correction of doctrinal excesses in the best tradition of didactic satire.

Science Fiction

Definitions of what constitutes "science fiction" vary, and Lucian's *VH* will not make it into every list of works in this genre. Anderson, weighing the evidence in a recent survey, comments that "the key criterion is really whether ancient concepts of scientific activity are upheld, and in this sense the label does indeed seem admissible" and a convincing case for inclusion within the modern rubric has been made by Fredericks and Swanson.[130] Scientific knowledge in the fields of geography, astronomy, zoology and anthropology pervades the narrative, even if it is visible mainly through the lens of parody: the

---

[127] Garnier's vols. 26–7 cover allegorical journeys; cf. Gove (1961) 53–4.

[128] See Guilhamet (1987) 150–56; Eddy (1923) 53–5 on Lucianic echoes in *Gulliver's Travels*.

[129] Leyburn (1956) 71–106 on satiric journeys; on satire's use of allegory, see Test (1991) 187–204.

[130] Anderson (1996) 556; Fredericks (1976); Swanson (1976).

reader is constantly presented with information about islands and rivers; the sun, moon and stars; plants, birds, fish, and animals; and the customs and appearance of other beings. The spirit of intellectual curiosity which motivates the voyagers initially, and drives them on in a relentless quest for enlightenment, is very much akin to that spirit of enquiry about the natural world which motivates thinkers like Thales, Anaxagoras and Aristotle. Fredericks suggests (54) that the *VH* also qualifies as Science Fiction through its presentation of "analogical" worlds: "like a modern SF writer, Lucian takes the sciences and other cognitive disciplines available to him and pictures alternate worlds which can dislocate the intellects of his readers in such a way as to make them aware of how many of their normal convictions about things were predicated upon cliché thinking and stereotyped response". The voyage to the moon is the part of the narrative which comes closest to modern conceptions of Science Fiction and it is in a sense the archetype in the western tradition of the numerous literary space-flights which appear in the 19th and 20th centuries. Echoes of Lucian's lunar trip can certainly be heard in Jules Verne's *Voyages extraordinaires*, which include *De la Terre à la Lune* (1865), a work, like the *VH*, of considerable inventiveness whatever its current "literary" status and its credentials as science fiction.[131] The title of R.L. Green's survey of space-flight narratives offers striking confirmation of the important position occupied by the *VH* in science-fiction: *Into Other Worlds: Space-Flight in Fiction from Lucian to Lewis* (1975).

Science Fiction offers a means of commenting on the existing or potential conditions of contemporary society.[132] As such, it is a mode of artistic creation which is, for all its imaginary and fantastic elements, deeply connected with the political and social status quo. In H.G. Wells' *The First Men in the Moon* (1901), the space-trip offers an opportunity to the author to make his satirical observations about humanity in general and about contemporary societal trends in particular. Two men travel in a sphere to the moon, where they are attacked by its insect-like inhabitants. One returns to the earth, the other sends a radio report of his observations of the Selenites, insect-like creatures, who live in an ordered society, modelled no doubt on

[131] On the often unrecognized complexities of Verne's texts, see Butcher (1990).
[132] Theall (1980); Eizykman (1985); see also the detailed study of Malmgren (1991), with substantial bibliography.

what Wells knew of the habits of ants and bees, in a kind of honeycomb under the lunar surface. This is a nightmarish vision of economic conditions in a developed capitalist system.[133]

Works of Science Fiction are engaged in social criticism just as much as a realist novel by Zola, but, instead of attempting to mirror everyday life, they operate primarily through the device of defamilarization: by projecting their criticism of societal structures and practices onto imaginary worlds, writers of Science Fiction provide an alternative perspective on these all too familiar problems.[134] As a Formalist critic might say, they render the familiar unfamiliar and thereby draw it to our attention. Science Fiction as a genre mediates between the poles of Utopian and Dystopian literature. Utopian literature explores alternatives to the prevailing conditions; Dystopian literature, on the other hand, examines the abuses and injustices in society as it is now, or as it might be in a "utopian" alternative. Ursula K. LeGuin's *The Dispossessed: An Ambiguous Utopia* (1974), for example, depicts a lunar utopia in the society of Anarres, whose delineation offers a pointed commentary on the ideological barriers and boundaries of the author's own historical experience.[135]

Lucian's *True Histories* utilizes a similar technique of defamiliarization or estrangement;[136] by locating the staple mechanisms of Greek life and culture—war, sexual identity, and social hierarchies—in fantastic settings, Lucian makes visible the mechanisms by which these supposedly "natural" and "inevitable" practices operate.[137] By creating an alternative, fantastic world which is, at the same time, both similar to, and different from, the world of everyday reality, the text functions substantially (if not primarily) as a means of confronting the problems of the *hic et nunc*. The imaginary landscape becomes a "mindscape" and its exploration an act of mental speculation.[138] In the *VH*, as in typical works of Science Fiction, the narrative of the imaginary world explores the transgression of traditional boundaries; while the borders become permeable, however, they are never

[133] See Williamson (1973) 111–19; McConnell (1981) 154–64.

[134] Gove (1961); Jackson (1981); Timmermann (1983).

[135] For an interpretation, see Moylan (1986) 91–120.

[136] On the links between the *VH* and later Science Fiction narratives, see e.g. Bozzetto (1980); Romm (1989b); Pierce (1987–9) espec. Part 1.

[137] Cf. Russ (1980); Barr (1987); Slusser and Rabkin (1993); Larmour (1997).

[138] Slusser and Rabkin (1989). On the interpretation of fantastic narratives in general, see Todorov (1973), and as an instance of the sociohistorical approach, see Monleón (1990).

entirely effaced. The main purpose of the exercise in Lucian's case is to present, scrutinize, and ridicule the explanations of the world offered by philosophers. This is not so far removed from the political and social criticism of modern Science Fiction, for, in the ancient context especially, philosophy incorporates not only metaphysical, but also political and scientific concerns.[139]

[139] See Swanson (1976); Myers (1983); Philips (1984); on ancient science fiction, see also D'Ippolito (1980).

COMMENTARY

BOOK 1

PART ONE: A TRIP TO THE MOON

1.1–4: INTRODUCTION

In his Introduction to the reader, Lucian explains the motives behind his composition: to provide relaxation from more serious study, while, at the same time, presenting something which is suitable for his sophisticated audience by virtue of its novelty, its verisimilitude and its allusions to various poets, philosophers and historians. The central issue is the distinction—or rather the lack of distinction—between truth and lies in the tales of such raconteurs as Ctesias, Iambulus and "Homer's Odysseus". Lucian continues that he wishes to leave something for posterity and, since he had no true story of any interest to relate, he has decided to make one up. The major difference between him and all the others, however, is that he will admit, from the outset, that he is telling lies. In fact, the reader should not believe anything which follows. The programmatic statement is itself a parody of the traditional historiographical Introduction, and, for its humorous tone, probably owes something to the *parabaseis* of Aristophanes. It inverts the standard professions of veracity and offers in their place a bold-faced assertion of complete mendacity. In *Hist.* 14–17, Lucian makes fun of historiographers whose Introductions are either tasteless imitations of well-known predecessors or inappropriate for the subject-matter. See further, G-L (1994) 1482–7. On the playful prologue in Apuleius, see Winkler (1985) ch. 7 "The Prologue as Conundrum", 180–203.

The *VH* may have been preceded by a short introductory piece, known as a *prolalia.* Two of Lucian's works, the *Dionysus* and the *Heracles* have been suggested as possible candidates: the former describes the arrival of Dionysus and his bizarre army among the Indians and tells of the spring of Silenus, which makes an old man—like Lucian—eloquent; the latter gives an allegorical interpretation of a strange Celtic painting in which Heracles is shown dragging a crowd of people along who are attached by the ears to his tongue by means of gold and amber chains—Heracles represents Eloquence and the followers his audience. The *Dionysus* might have been used

to anticipate the Dionysian aspects of the *VH* or, more generally, to warn the audience against reading superficially, for it is the Indians' failure to take the Bacchic army seriously which results in their defeat. The *Heracles* could have served to introduce the notion of allegorical interpretation and to encourage the audience to solve the upcoming riddles. Both the *Dionysus* and the *Heracles* were probably designed to be used on several occasions and are "open-ended" enough to be interchangeable as *prolaliae* to either the first or the second books of the *VH*. On the possibility of a second *prolalia* to open Book 2, see the introductory note on Book 2 below. For more detailed discussion of the content of these two pieces, their connections with the narrative of the *VH*, and relevant scholarship, see G-L (1995).

1.1

ἀθλητικοῖς: on Lucian's athletic metaphors and comparisons in general, see Betz (1961) 120 and n. 4. In *Hist.* 8; 10; 40, history is depicted as an athlete without make-up; the make-up stands for poetic embellishment including myth. For history as an athlete, see G-L (1994) 1477–78. The analogy between athletic training and the training of the soul, and the idea of the soul as an athlete, are quite common in the philosophers, and appear in some of the works with which Lucian was probably familiar: Plat. *Phdr.* 256B; *Rep.* 621C–D; Plut. *De Fac.* 943D; *De Gen.* 593D–E; 593F–594A; *De Ser. Num.* 561A. The athletic analogy, then, is not a fortuitous beginning: it points back to the athletic motif in the *Hist.* and forward to the parody of the journey of the soul in the Moon episode. On Lucian's general concern with athletic training, see his treatise *Anacharsis*. Matteuzzi (1976) suggests that in 1.1 ἀθλητικοῖς is a gloss.

ἄνεσις: opposed to σπουδή (relaxation, recreation). Relaxation is an important part of the athlete's training regimen (Phil. *De Gymn.* 47, 53). On the importance of such relaxation, cf. Plat. *Leg.* 724A–B; Cic. *De Off.* 1.29; Sen. *De Tranq. an.* 17.5–8; Quint. *Inst.* 1.3.8.

οὕτω δή . . . παρασκευάζειν: Lucian points to the type of audience he has in mind for the narrative: the serious reader is the one who is engaged in the reading of λόγοι, a term which suggests philosophy (cf. the reference to philosophers in 1.2). On the kind of implied audience required for the *VH*, see G-L (1994) 1483–84. With mental relaxation providing strength for the future, cf. Sen. *De Tranq. an.* 17.5: *danda est animis remissio; meliores acrioresque requieti surgent.* The word

κάματος is used for both athletic and intellectual labours (*Anach.* 7.8; *Rhet. Praec.* 14.9; cf. Pind. *P.* 12.27–8; *N.* 1.70; 8.50; *I.* 8.1).

τὴν πολλὴν . . . ἀνάγνωσιν: the extended reading of more serious works, i.e. philosophical λόγοι. The verbal echo in ἐσπουδακόσιν/σπουδαιοτέρων emphasizes the association between serious readers and serious writings. The adjective σπουδαῖος is commonly used by Lucian in connection with philosophy (*Icar.* 4; *Merc. Cond.* 4; *Pisc.* 25; *Salt.* 2).

τὸ ξένον τῆς ὑποθέσεως: the strangeness of the proposed subject; Lucian apparently refers to the originality of his project, which combines historiography with avowedly fictional narrative. Of course, he often insists on the novelty of his work: cf. *Zeux.* 2–3; 7. For a similar declaration of originality, cf. Polybius, 1.2.1: ὡς δ' ἔστι παράδοξον καὶ μέγα τὸ περὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν ὑπόθεσιν θεώρημα γένοιτ' ἂν οὕτως μάλιστ' ἐμφανές.

1.2

οὐκ ἄμουσον: not unrefined; cf. ἀμουσία in *De Dom.* 2, used of a lack of appreciation of art and beauty (cf. Plat. *Phdr.* 240B). In *Electr.* 6, οὐδέ τις ᾠδὴ πρόσεστιν conveys a similar meaning. He makes frequent use of litotes in the *VH*: οὐκ ἀκωμῳδήτως (1.2); οὐκ ἀτερπῆ (1.3); μὴ ἄμοιρος (1.4); οὐκ ἀφανής (2.25). On the figure in Lucian, see Schmid (1887) 415; on the device in general, see Weyman (1886). It is used for both understatement and positive assertion.

ἐξενηνόχαμεν: the use of the plural is a device to suggest the collective experience of all the travellers and thereby lend verisimilitude to the story, as will be seen throughout the narrative.

τῶν ἱστορουμένων: ἱστορέω is apparently used as a general term meaning "to report" regardless of whether the reported material is true or false; see Press (1982) 61–87, esp. 71–73.

ἀκωμῳδήτως: *hapax*; cf. ἀτραγῴδητος in *Merc. Cond.* 19.

ᾔνικται: αἰνίττομαι means hint at, allude to, or speak in riddles (*Calumn.* 30; *Salt.* 70). Lucian's narrative will allude to other writers who will be recognized by the reader, he says. He only names Ctesias and Iambulus as examples, unlike Antonius Diogenes—the "root and source" according to Photius of Lucian's *VH* (see Introd. III.2)—who wrote at the beginning of each book the names of those writers who treated the same subjects before him, so as not to give the impression

that the incredible tales lack witnesses (Phot. 111a38–40). On the significance of this word in terms of allegory, see Lamberton (1986) 41, 48, 51, 65 n. 68, 125 n. 122, 151, and 202; speaking of the *Life and Poetry of Homer*, attributed to Plutarch, he comments that the author of the work "often indicates that Homer 'hints at' (αἰνίττεται) various doctrines of later thinkers, and makes it clear that the poems are a vast encyclopedia with a complex, sometimes obscure, structure of meaning" (41). He also comments that the word "from the time of Plato and before had been the principal verb used to designate the secondary meaning of texts and myths" (48). It appears in Porph. *De Antr.* 3 [56] in conjunction with the verb ἀλληγορεῖν. There are several instances in Plutarch with reference to extracting a profound meaning from the words of poets: *Cons. ad Apoll.* 107E; *De Def. orac.* 415C; *De Ex.* 607C; *Quaest. conv.* 658F; 685 D. On the allegorical tradition, see Introd. II.1. The formulation οὐκ ἀκωμῳδήτως ᾔνικται comes very close to the notion of parody (see Introd. III). On the role of the reader as detective in such texts as this, see on Apuleius, Winkler (1985) ch. 3 "The Scrupulous Reader", 57–98.

συγγραφέων: the noun συγγραφεύς is used of historians in *Hist.* 2; 4; 41; *VH* 2.5; *Iud. Voc.* 9.10, but the adjective συγγραφικός has a wider application and can refer to prose writing as opposed to poetry: it is used in juxtaposition to ποιητικός in *Merc. Cond.* 35, cf. *Pisc.* 23.

τεράστια καὶ μυθώδη: cf. τὴν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις τερατουργίαν of philosophers in *Icar.* 6. Collections of marvels and incredible stories constitute a distinct literary genre (see Introd. III.2); notable examples include Ps.-Aristotle's *Mir. Ausc.*, Antigonus' Ἱστοριῶν Παραδόξων Συναγωγή, Isigonus' Ἄπιστα and Phlegon's Περὶ θαυμασίων. For fragments, see *PG*.

1.3

Κτησίας ... ἤκουσεν: fifth-century historian, author of a *Persica* and an *Indica*, summarized in Photius' *Bibliotheca* cod. 72 (*Pers.* 35b35–45a21; *Ind.* 45a21–50a3); see also "Ktesias", *RE* 21.2 (1922) 2032–73 [Jacoby]; cf. *FGrH* 688; McCrindle (1987); Holzberg (1996a) 629–32. On the *Indica*, see Bigwood (1989). The presentation of Ctesias' name and origin, with its comical alliteration, is reminiscent of the historian Κρεπέρηος Καλπουρνιανὸς Πομπηϊουπολίτης ridiculed in *Hist.* 15. According to Photius 49b39–40, Ctesias told myths (μυθολογῶν), but claimed to be writing the absolute truth (τἀληθέστατα); see G-L (1994) 1484–87.

Aristotle *HA* 606a describes Ctesias as "not worthy of trust" and Plutarch frequently criticizes Ctesias' unreliability in *Artaxerxes*: 1.4 (μύθων ἀπιθάνων καὶ παραφόρων); 6.9; 13.5; 18.6. In *VH* 2.31, Ctesias is placed on the Isle of the Wicked.

Perhaps the subject-matter brought out the worst in many writers: Strabo 2.2.9 remarks that all those who wrote about India proved themselves to be, for the most part, ψευδολόγοι and names (in order of unreliability) Deimachus, Megasthenes, Onesicritus and Nearchus. For Ctesias' role in making Indian *mirabilia* part of the historiographical tradition, see Wittkower (1942); Dihle (1984) 89–98; also Romm (1992) 86–94 and n. 9. On Megasthenes, cf. Introd. III.2; on Onesicritus, see T.S. Brown (1949).

Ἰαμβοῦλος: a summary of his travel narrative is preserved in Diodorus 2.55–60 (see Introd. III.2). Lucian says that everybody knew Iambulus was lying, but he put together a plot (ὑπόθεσις) which is not unentertaining (οὐκ ἀτερπῆ); cf. Lucian's own ὑπόθεσις and the description of his project as οὐκ ἄμουσον (1.2). The two subjects treated by Ctesias and Iambulus—a trip through India and a journey over the sea—are the same two attributed to one of the historians criticized in *Hist.* 31 (G-L [1994] 1485–7); see further Winston (1956); (1976); F.F. Schwartz (1983).

ὡς δή: ironic; see Denniston (1954) 233–4; cf. *D. Mort.* 29(24).2; *Soloec.* 7. This sets the tone early.

πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι... καινότητας: perhaps a reference to Herodotus, who travelled widely and described giant insects, cannibalistic peoples, and strange customs. No doubt many other writers dealt with such topics too; see also n. on merchant stories below, 1.6. In Plut. *De Gen.* 590A–B, Timarchus goes to the cave of Trophonius to find out about the Socratic *daimonion*; when he returns, he tells of the θαυμάσια καὶ ἰδεῖν καὶ ἀκοῦσαι. In *Icar.* 24, Zeus laments humanity's craving for novelty (τὸ φιλόκαινον), complaining that this is why they invent new gods.

βωμολοχίας: coarse buffoonery. Lucian uses adjectives derived from this word in philosophical contexts (*Herm.* 58; *Merc. Cond.* 24) and to describe inappropriate flattery in history-writing (*Hist.* 17).

ἀρχηγὸς δὲ αὐτοῖς... ὁ τοῦ Ὁμήρου Ὀδυσσεύς: Lucian's target is apparently Odysseus, not Homer, as if Odysseus the character has a life

of his own. In the Isle of the Blessed both figures appear, and Odysseus acts succesfully as Homer's lawyer in 2.20. In *Vit. Auct.* 15–18, Lucian conflates Socrates and Plato in a similar manner. An ironic view of Odysseus' reliability as a witness of what happens in Hades is found in *De Luct.* 5. Elsewhere he attacks Homer (*J. Trag.* 39; *Philops.* 2; cf. *Zeux.* 2), but here his purpose is to create a parallel between Odysseus and the narrator of the upcoming story which contains many allusions to the *Odyssey*: see G-L (1994) 1485 and 1490–92, and the general survey of Homeric borrowings in Lucian by Bouquiaux-Simon (1968). While the lying historians are placed among the Wicked in *VH* 2.31, Homer is among the Blessed in 2.20 and his poems are sung there (2.15). In *Philops.* 1, Odysseus is said to have told lies for reasons of expediency; Homer, by contrast, is among those who are simply "lovers of lies", like Herodotus and Ctesias. The hostile characterization of Odysseus here also militates against the idealization of him by philosophers and allegorists detailed in Buffière (1956) 365–91.

τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἀλκίνουν . . . ἐτερατεύσατο: there is a similar criticism of the stories which Odysseus told Alcinous (*Od.* 9–12) in Plat. *Rep.* 614B: as he begins the myth of Er, Socrates says he will tell the story of a bold man, Er, not the tale told to Alcinous (Ἀλκίνου γε ἀπόλογον), and the Platonic scholiast comments that the expression became proverbial (*Scholia Platonica* [Greene] 276). See also Tümpel (1894); Romm (1992) 183–96, and Introd. III.1. On Odysseus as narrator, see Dougherty (1995), espec. 70–1; 161–93. On the Phaeacian books of the *Od.* in general, see the survey in Garvie (1994) 18–31. The πολυκέφαλα ζῷα καὶ τὰς . . . μεταβολάς will be parodied in the numerous hybrid creatures which populate the *VH*.

πρὸς ἰδιώτας ἀνθρώπους: the implication is that such stories are believed by simple-minded and uninformed people (cf. *De Luct.* 2). See further, Kaiser (1964) 213–23. This also makes fun of Homer and his readers in general and functions in addition as a warning to Lucian's own readers; for discussion of Lucian and his audience, see Korus (1986) and G-L (1994) 1455–6. In *Hist.* 27, Lucian criticizes historians who pass over the important events and who ὑπὸ ἰδιωτείας dwell very fully on insignificant matters. *De Domo* 2–3 is an extended comparison between the educated and the uncultured (ἰδιώταις τε καὶ πεπαιδευμένοις ἀνδράσιν). The ἰδιώτης is contrasted with the σοφός (*Symp.* 35) and with the ποιητικός (*Char.* 4). In *Herm.* 72, Hippocentaurs,

Chimaeras and Gorgons, and all related images, are said to be created by poets and painters, with their artistic licence. They never existed and never can exist, but are believed in by the mass of the people (ὁ πολὺς λεώς), who are beguiled when they see them or hear about them. Plutarch (*De Gen.* 575B) draws a distinction between the ἰδιῶται καὶ ἄτεχνοι θεαταί on the one hand, and the κομψοὶ καὶ φιλότεχνοι on the other.

With regard to the allusions mentioned in the Introduction above (III), the intended reader of the *VH* is not only somebody who is educated, but a reader who is familiar with Lucian's corpus of works and his preoccupations; these include philosophical debates and disagreements, the difficulties of distinguishing truth from fiction, and charlatans of various kinds—historians, poets, religious leaders and the like.

1.4

καὶ τοῖς φιλοσοφεῖν ὑπισχνουμένοις: "even among those who profess philosophy": perhaps it is worse for philosophers to lie because of their pretensions to truth. Philosophers were listed last in the list of offenders earlier (1.3). Lucian's disappointment with philosophers and their doctrines is apparent throughout his corpus: see Introd. III.3. The scholiast says this phrase refers to the myth of Er in Plat. *Rep.* 614–21. Tackaberry (1930) 76 suggests that the vision of Cleodemus in *Philops.* 25 is probably suggested by that of Er. In *Hist.* 17, Lucian ridicules the philosopher who writes history using philosophical devices.

ὑπὸ κενοδοξίας... μεθ' ἡμᾶς: on Lucian's concern with posterity, cf. *Hist.* 5, 9, 13, 40, 42, 61–3; Thuc. 1.22. See also τὴν παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων κατηγορίαν ἐκφυγεῖν below and further G-L (1994) 1486.

εὐγνωμονέστερον: "more reasonably", "more considerately". Unlike the others, Lucian takes into account the intelligence of his audience and his own future reputation. Theopompus seems to have admitted that he was using myths in his history: ἐξομολογεῖται φήσας ὅτι καὶ μύθους ἐν ταῖς ἱστορίαις ἐρεῖ, κρεῖττον ἢ ὡς Ἡρόδοτος καὶ Κτησίας καὶ Ἑλλάνικος καὶ οἱ τὰ Ἰνδικὰ συγγράψαντες (Str. 1.2.35). Lucian was apparently familiar with Theopompus' work, since he criticizes him for his censorious attitude in *Hist.* 59.

κἂν ἓν γὰρ... ψεύδομαι: this recalls the statement of Socrates in *Apol.* 21D that he seems to be wiser "in just this little thing... that what

I do not know, I do not think I know either" (cf. 17B: οὗτοι μὲν οὖν, ὥσπερ ἐγὼ λέγω, ἤ τι ἢ οὐδὲν ἀληθὲς εἰρήκασιν· ὑμεῖς δ' ἐμοῦ ἀκούεσθε πᾶσαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν).

γράφω τοίνυν ... ἐπυθόμην: cf. Hdt. 1.22, 1.52, 1.66, 2.99. Lucian's admission sounds like the exact opposite of the methods he recommends for the historian in *Hist.* 24 and 29, following the precepts of Polybius (e.g. 4.2.2, 12.25f.30)—if indeed Polybius was his model, see G-L (1994) 1450–78—and others in the Thucydidean tradition. In *Hist.* 29, Lucian ridicules a Corinthian historian who never left his home city, but managed in spite of this to claim that his work rested upon αὐτοψία. In *Philops.* 30, Tychiades (who probably represents Lucian's views) says that he does not believe in *daimones* and phantoms and the souls of dead men, because he has not seen them. Polybius criticizes Ephorus for describing a battle which he neither experienced nor saw (12.25f) and faults Timaeus in the same area (2.16.5, 12.25e.7). The preference for seeing and direct experience over hearing reports from others is encapsulated in Heraclitus' saying (B 101a [D-K]; Marcovich 6) that "eyes are better witnesses than ears", which is echoed by both Lucian (*De Dom.* 20; *Hist.* 29; *Salt.* 78) and Polybius (12.27.1–2).

A preference for eyes over ears, as Kahn (1976) observes (106–7), expresses not so much an epistemic ranking of the senses as the reliance upon direct experience rather than upon hearsay; he adds that this is basic both for Ionian ἱστορίη (cf. Hdt. 1.8.2) and for Heraclitus' own attack upon the traditional wisdom of the poets. Lucian argues that poetry should be separated from history (*Hist.* 8) and will, of course, make fun of poetic extravagance in the *VH*; for further details, see Stengel (1911) 12–13; G-L (1994) 1453–6; 1463–5; 1486. Later, in *VH* 2.31, the narrator says that "he knows perfectly well that he has not told a lie" and thereby distinguishes himself from Ctesias and Herodotus. By warning his readers that everything which follows is untrue the author/narrator similarly marks his difference from the lying historians; thus the statement in 2.31 that he has told no lies is literally true (from the perspective of Lucian the Narrator) and also false (from the viewpoint of Lucian the Author).

ἔτι δὲ μήτε ... δυναμένων: cf. the words spoken by Homer in the contest with Hesiod in Plut. *Sept. sap. conv.* 154A: Μοῦσά μοι ἔννεπε κεῖνα, τὰ μήτ' ἐγένοντο πάροιθε/μήτ' ἔσται μετόπισθεν.

Διὸ δεῖ... αὐτοῖς: Lucian parodies the standard professions of veracity by writers like Ctesias (Phot. *Bibl.* cod. 72, 49b39–50a3) and Antonius Diogenes (*ib.* cod. 166, 111a4–7); cf. G-L (1994) 1486–87. In *Peregr.* 39, Lucian admits to fabricating an apotheosis. In *Alex.* 44–5, an innocent man who reveals the truth is stoned by the audience: this grotesque event occurs because the victim's prediction that a certain man would be shipwrecked did not come true. The language Lucian uses here is reminiscent of Socrates' remarks at the opening of the *Apology* (17 A–B): his accusers spoke very persuasively "but they spoke nothing truthful" and he was "most amazed by one of the many lies that they told, when they said you must watch out that you are not deceived by me, since I am a clever speaker". The verb ἐντυγχάνειν means to encounter (in actuality), but may also have a metaphorical sense here: the readers (οἱ ἐντυγχάνοντες, Polyb. 1.3.10) will encounter the author's figments in literary form (cf. *Dem. Enc.* 27; Plat. *Symp.* 177B).

1.5–6: TRANSITION TO THE FICTIONAL WORLD

After his introductory statement, Lucian begins the narrative of his fantastic journey. The voice of the Narrator separates itself from the voice of the Author and offers an account which strives to seem credible. Thus the distinction between the true and the untrue, and between the credible and the incredible, is very effectively blurred. The ambiguity is achieved by two devices: (1) the matter-of-fact narrative style, interspersed with indications of the narrator's reliability, and (2) the incorporation of numerous realistic details which are entirely credible in terms of actual experience. Moreover, the reader is lured into the fantastic realm in a gradual manner: the initial preparations for the voyage are believable, as is the journey to the Island of the Vine-women; only the duration of the storm (79 days) gives the reader some pause. For further examples of these devices at work throughout the *VH*, see G-L (1994) 1492–1500. The account given by the narrator in the *VH* of a voyage which begins with a gentle wind followed by a storm is similar to Timolaus' description of the journey of the Isis from Egypt to the Piraeus in *Nav.* 79, another work in which a fictitious journey is described in a realistic manner (7–9). Bompaire (1958) 453, n. 2 suggests that such tales are examples of "merchants' stories" whose veracity was highly suspect

(cf. *Rhet. Praec.* 5; *Merc. Cond.* 1–2; *Tox.* 19); a typical merchant's tale is told by Scintharus, the old man in the whale (*VH* 1.34).

"Setting sail" also has a rhetorical meaning: Plut. *De garr.* 507A–B describes a story (*logos*) as a ship escaping from a harbour, so that ropes or anchors cannot hold it back; it eventually plunges the man who uttered it into danger. In *Lex.* 15, the speaker makes extensive use of the sailing metaphor (ἀνηγόμην) in the context of rhetoric. The idea of the historian navigating his boat across the dangerous sea is an important motif in *Hist.* 4, 7, 45, 62, on which, see G-L (1994) 1488–9. In a discussion of deception in poetry, Plutarch asks (*De Aud.* 15D) whether the young should not be forced to put to sea in the Epicurean boat (τὸ 'Επικούρου ἀκάτιον) and steer clear of poetry; alternatively, one can bind them to reason and guide their judgement, so that it may not be carried away from the course by pleasure in a harmful direction. For Lucian, "the sea of philosophy" is an important image: in *Pisc.* 29 Frankness recalls setting out to follow Philosophy, expecting to sail out of stormy waters into a calm haven; cf. *Nigr.* 7: the philosopher was a lighthouse to a man adrift at night; cf. also the "flooded soul" (ψυχῆς ὑποκλυζομένης) in 16.

On the association between the sea and misfortune, see Péron (1974) 216–33; most of the adventures and encounters Lucian has may be described as unfortunate or even life-threatening, except for the Cork-feet and the Phallonauts. A good sample of images of the sea in ancient literature is given by Kahlmeyer (1934), espec. 22–6 (on life as a sea storm) and 26–39 (on life as a sea voyage). On the figurative use of nautical terms, see Péron (1974), especially 216–33 (on the symbolism of the sea) and 234–77 (of the wave).

The narrative is Odyssean and alludes both to the original Homeric poem and to its later interpretations in the hands of philosophers and allegorizers. Numenius sees the travels of Odysseus as symbolic of successive stages of *genesis* of the soul (ap. Porph. *De Antr.* 34 [79]; see Introd. II.1 above), while Maximus of Tyre sees in Odysseus the image of the perfect life and accomplished virtue (*Orat.* 26. 5–6). The tendency to read the *Odyssey* in this double fashion is encapsulated in the remark of Heraclitus, *Hom. All.* 70.1: καθόλου δὲ τὴν 'Οδυσσέως πλάνην, εἴ τις ἀκριβῶς ἐθέλει σκοπεῖν, ἠλληγορημένην εὑρήσει. See further, Buffière (1956) 365–91 for a general survey. Lucian's "Odyssey" needs to be approached in the same manner, as the instructions in the author's Introduction make clear.

Thus a pattern of allegorical parody becomes clear:

EPISODE 1: THE MOON

1. Escape from the Vine-women and a sudden journey to the Moon (departure from the earthly realm; threat of entrapment by Circe- or Siren-like figures).
2. Meeting with Endymion, who provides information about the place they have come to and his enemies (meeting with a guide to the other world).
3. Assisting Endymion in the battle over the colony, which promises *eudaimonia* (struggle for a secure and happy resting place).
4. Witnessing of the combat between Endymion and Phaethon (parody of the *Iliad*; fighting among souls or among philosophers and their doctrines or among the souls of the philosophers).
5. Acquisition of knowledge about the moon (finding out about the soul and the other world; parody of historians and philosophers).
6. Refusal to stay with Endymion and have *eudaimonia*; intense wish to return to the sea (desire to return to the earthly realm; threat of entrapment).
7. Visit to Lychnopolis on the way down (another society of souls; parody of philosophical doctrines, perhaps Pythagorean).
8. Return to the sea (return to the material world).

EPISODE 2: THE WHALE

1. Return from the moon and swallowing by the whale (descent into a cave, parody of Plato).
2. Meeting with strangers, who provide information about the place and the quarrelsome people who dwell there (meeting with a guide to the other world; parody of Odysseus in Ithaca; description of the inhabitants).
3. Participation in the battle with Scintharus' enemies, in order to live in peace for ever (fighting among souls or philosophers; parody of Odysseus' battle with the suitors).
4. Witnessing of the battle between the Island-fighters (fighting among the philosophers; parody of Homeric geography).
5. Intense desire to leave the whale (desire to return to the real world; parody of the Platonic cave; parody of Odysseus' escape from Polyphemus).
6. Return to the sea.

EPISODE 3: THE DEAD

The third episode, the visit to the Land of the Dead, follows the same pattern as the first two incidents, but is more complex and includes more encounters and adventures. In this case, the people the travellers meet are the souls of the dead and thus what has been implicit in the first two episodes now becomes explicit: the voyagers are on a journey for knowledge about the soul and the afterlife. A major difference is the fact that they are unwilling to leave the Isle of the Blessed, whereas they were very eager to leave the moon and the inside of the whale.

1. Departure from the islands and sailing to the Isle of the Blessed (cf. the escape from the Vine-women followed by the trip to the moon, and the return from the moon followed by the swallowing by the whale).
2. Encounter with Rhadamanthus and judgement (cf. the encounters with Endymion and Scintharus).
3. Acquisition of knowledge about the inhabitants and the souls of the Blessed (cf. information from Endymion, the ethnography of the Moonmen, and the information from Scintharus; parody of philosophers and of doctrines about the existence of the blessed souls).
4. Witnessing of the battle between Good and Wicked Souls (cf. battle between Endymion and Phaethon, battle inside the whale, and the battle of the Island-fighters outside the whale; parody of the *Iliad*).
5. Conflict with Rhadamanthus and expulsion (cf. the desire to leave the moon and the desire to escape from the whale, indicating that the journey for knowledge is not yet completed).
6. Acquisition of knowledge about the souls of the Wicked (cf. 3 above; parody of doctrines of the punishment of souls).
7. Visit to the Isle of Dreams on their way out (cf. the visit to Lychnopolis; the excursus on the dreams and their institutions is a parody of several philosophers and their doctrines, including Plato's myth of Er).
8. Crossing of the chasm in the sea and sailing on the tree-tops (cf. sailing on the frozen sea, parody of the chasms in Plato's myth of Er).
9. Visit to the Island of the Ass-legs and a sudden shipwreck (cf. the Island of Vine-women followed by the sudden journey to the moon and the return from the moon which is in turn followed

by the sudden swallowing by the whale; danger of entrapment by Circe- or Siren-like creatures).
10. Arrival at the Other Continent (cf. arrival at the moon, arrival inside the whale).

1.5

ἀπὸ Ἡρακλείων στηλῶν: the Pillars of Heracles represent the boundary between the known and the unknown world. Crates of Mallos placed the wanderings of Odysseus beyond the Pillars of Heracles. Before Lucian's day, the voyage of Pytheas into the Atlantic had brought reports of the geography of the lands beyond the Mediterranean; cf. Plat. *Phd.* 109B; see also Carpenter (1966); M.R. Cataudella (1989–90); Ponsich (1974); Kartunnen (1988), (1992); Romm (1992) 9–26; for figurative meanings, see Péron (1974) 72–84.

αἰτία... ὑπόθεσις: cf. Dio Cassius 41.56; Plut. *Flam.* 15.1; Luc. *Merc. Cond.* 5. This echoes the two earlier uses of ὑπόθεσις in *VH* 1.2 and 1.3. In 1.2 τὸ ξένον τῆς ὑποθέσεως anticipates the expressions τῆς ἀποδημίας καὶ ὑπόθεσις and πραγμάτων καινῶν in 1.5. The "strangeness" of the narrative design parallels the bizarre geographical locations of the journey itself. In 1.3, ὑπόθεσις is used of Iambulus' composition, whose opening passages may have shared some features with Lucian's (see Introd. III.2 above). The narrator's need to justify his undertaking of the voyage is analogous to Lucian's own programmatic statement and reflects his apparent concern with real motives, as opposed to specious ones, in regard to the writing of history. Since this is a transitional passage, in which Lucian the author becomes the narrator, it contains several verbal echoes of the programmatic statement: for example, compare τὴν διάνοιαν (1.1) and τῆς διανοίας (1.5); ἀποδημίας... καινότητας (1.3) and ἀποδημίας... καινῶν (1.5); and finally οὐ σφόδρα (1.4 and 1.6). Cf. Antonius Diogenes ap. Phot. *Bibl.* cod. 109a13: Δεινίας κατὰ ζήτησιν ἱστορίας... ἀποπλανηθεὶς τῆς πατρίδος; Iambulus,, ap. Diod. 2.55.2. For ἀποδημία as referring to the world beyond the grave, see Plat. *Phd.* 61E: μέλλοντα ἐκεῖσε ἀποδημεῖν διασκοπεῖν τε καὶ μυθολογεῖν περὶ τῆς ἀποδημίας τῆς ἐκεῖ; cf. *Apol.* 41A. On the the related term ἐπιδημία, see n. on 1.7.

περιεργία: in Lucian the word and its cognates generally have negative connotations; cf. *D.Meretr.* 4.3; *Herod.* 6; *Icar.* 33; *Nigr.* 33; *Salt.* 35 (see also Apul. *Met.* 2.1). In *Act. Apost.* 19.19, τὰ περίεργα means strange arts or magic. In Luc. *Asin.* 4, Lucius comes to Thessaly

because he is curious to see marvels. There is a somewhat more positive tone to the term in *Alex.* 4 and 49; both aspects seem to be present in *D.Deor.* 11.4, where the word is used of Hermes' motivation for going down to Hades. An analogous term with generally negative, but sometimes positive connotations, is πολυπραγμοσύνη: this word is used of a search for knowledge (Polyb. 5.75.6; Plut. *De Cur.* 515B). In *VH* 2.10 Rhadamanthus decides that the travellers will be tried after death for their inquisitiveness and for being absent from home (φιλοπραγμοσύνη and ἀποδημία). In Plut. *De Gen.* 590A–B, Timarchus goes to the cave of Trophonius to find out about (ποθῶν γνῶναι) the Socratic *daimonion*. The motivation for the voyage is somewhat reminiscent of the reasons Thucydides gives for the enthusiasm of the younger men in Athens for Alcibiades' Sicilian expedition (6.24.3). On curiosity, see also Walsh (1988).

τὸ τέλος . . . ὠκεανοῦ: the end of the ocean is reached at the conclusion of *VH* 2. Epicurus wrote a work Περὶ τέλους (Diog. Laert. 10.6). The search for the τέλος is connected with strife and arguments and all sorts of disturbances, both human and cosmic, in *Paras.* 11. Lucian refers to Aristotle's technical use of τέλος in *Icar.* 5 (cf. *Metaph.* 1.3.983a31; *Phys.* 2.3.194b32); cf. *Vit. Auct.* 23. In *Icar.* 4, τέλος is used of the "purpose" of the universe; in 6, the philosophers claim to have discovered the boundaries (τὰ πέρατα) of heaven. See further, Péron (1974) 67; 88–90. On the possible geographical extent of Greek westward exploration, see Chroust (1979).

οἱ πέραν κατοικοῦντες: on the peoples living on the edge of the world, like the Hyperboreans and the Ethiopians, see Romm (1992) 60–7. MacLachlan (1992) 31–2 discusses the Ethiopians as ἔσχατοι ἀνδρῶν, noting that such people "live where polarities begin but are not yet defined" and that "beyond the known world one encountered more extreme conditions and atypical forms" (cf. Hdt. 3.116).

πάμπολλα . . . προσεποιησάμην: similar preparations for a voyage were described by Iambulus ap. Diod. 2.55.3, but such descriptions are bound to have been common in the literary travel tradition. The word πάμπολλα marks the first appearance of the humorous exaggeration which characterizes the entire narrative.

πεντήκοντα . . . προσεποιησάμην: the total number of voyagers, including the narrator and the helmsman, is 52; this is the same number of sailors which Alcinous proposes should accompany Odysseus in

Od. 8.35. The verb is used of winning somebody over to one's cause, as well as simply getting or procuring something. The narrator describes his fifty companions as having the same γνώμη as himself. He also "persuades" (πείσας) the helmsman to join the crew. In this description, we see an indication of Lucian's rhetorical training. Just as Lucian, the author, is writing for an audience who understand his purpose, so the narrator chooses companions who share his interests. They are also described as ἡλικιῶται, of the same age, or contemporary: the sailors are, in effect, Lucian's contemporary readers, who go on this voyage with him, and not all of whom make it to the end (cf. *Hist.* 15). In *Hist.* 37, speaking as a trainer of history-writers, he asks for a student who has the ability to understand, who is keen-sighted, and who has political and military experience: this is the sort of fellow-traveller the author wants. In *Icar.* 5, Menippus says that in the search for knowledge he picked the best of the philosophers and that they expected to win him over (πείθεσθαι and ὑπάγειν) to their own doctrines.

ὅπλων: refers to shipping-tackle and weapons. The voyagers appear to use weapons from their ship at 1.36–7 and 2.44.

κυβερνήτην ... μισθῷ μεγάλῳ: he is next mentioned in 1.37, when he dies. The role of the helmsman in actual navigation is minimal, since the ship is often carried along by forces he cannot possibly control. This is reminiscent of Odysseus' vessel, which is frequently blown off course; in the *Odyssey*, the helmsman also has a small role. On the profession of κυβερνήτης, see Rougé (1966) 222–227; Casson (1971) 300–304; on the symbolism associated with this figure, see Kahlmeyer (1934) 29; Péron (1974) 101–143.

The helmsman is an important symbol in philosophical discourse, especially Platonic: see *Pol.* 272E; 296E–297A; 298A; 302A; *Rep.* 488A–489B; *Leg.* 963B; *Tim.* 42E; cf. Plut. *Per.* 33.5; *De Gen.* 593F–594A; *Praec. ger. reip.* 812B; and Fuhrmann (1964) 49–50; 69–70 n. 3; 234–7. It appears in Philo *Leg. All.* 3.223; Plot. 4.3.17; and in a fragment of Numenius, describing the Demiurge (18 [Des Places]; see Petty [1993] 130–1). In *Herm.* 28 Lycinus stresses the need for a good helmsman for the journey for philosophical knowledge and Hermotimus answers (29) that there are no better pilots and no more experienced helmsmen than the Stoics. There is an extended comparison of the ship to the universe with Zeus as the helmsman in *J. Trag.* 46–51, cf. *J. Conf.* 11; *Char.* 3; 36; *Salt.* 39.

The large payment is a realistic detail suitable for the transitional passage; the large payment reflects the dangerous nature of the enterprise (the κυβερνήτης was as important as the captain in modern times, not a mere pilot), as does the fact that Lucian chooses the best (τὸν ἄριστον) helmsman available (cf. *Nav.* 9; *Herm.* 28). The helmsman is chosen for his experience, but ironically cannot control the ship: in symbolic terms, perhaps, the ship of history cannot be steered through the poetic waters. The ship is blown off course and carried along by the poetic imagination of the author.

The helmsman is the only member of the crew who is motivated by money unlike the others, who are all interested in the search for knowledge. The theme of teaching for pay is a favourite topic of Lucian: *Nigr.* 25; *Vit. Auct.* 24; *Herm.* 80; *Merc. Cond.* 23 (cf. Plat. *Euthy.* 304A; *Protag.* 328B; *Theaet.* 161E; *Gorg.* 519C [of sophists]). In *Icar.* 5, Menippus pays a hefty fee to the philosophers. In Aristoph. *Nu.* 98–9 the philosophers take money to teach how to argue from both sides. For the expression, cf. Thuc. 1.31.1 (ἐρέτας μισθῷ πείθοντες) and 1.60.1.

ἄκατος: another realistic detail; he names the kind of ship and says he strengthened it for the voyage (cf. Iambulus ap. Diod. 2.55.3). The craft mentioned is a small boat or a merchant-galley driven by 30 to 50 oarsmen. On the ἄκατος, see Casson (1971) 159–160; ἄκατος, *RE* 1.1158–9 [Luebeck]; Pind. *P.* 11.40; *N.* 5.3; Hdt. 7.186; Thuc. 4.67.3; 7.59.3.

An ἄκατος was used in the Eleusinian mysteries (*IG* 1.313, ll. 149, 160) and the boat-shaped cup of this name is mentioned in two comic fragments: Theopompus Comicus fr. 4 [the text is however corrupt] and Antiphanes fr. 3 [*PCG* vol. 3; cf. Athen. 501F; 692F]. In the first, Theopompus apparently ridicules Telestes for calling the drinking-vessel φιάλη an ἄκατος. In the second, Athenaeus is talking about bowls of wine mixed in honour of the gods, and quotes Antiphanes on the raising of an ἄκατος to Zeus Soter. On various means of travel to the Isles of the blessed, including ascent to celestial regions, see Cumont (1949) 281–98, espec. 283–89 on boats.

1.6

οὐρίῳ: winds are referred to frequently throughout. For figurative uses, see Pindar *O.* 13.26–8; Péron (1974) 170–215. Winds are purificatory in journeys of the soul: see, for example, Verg. *Aen.* 6.741 (*suspensae ad ventos*); Cumont (1949) 209–12; 297. As an instance

of the connection between winds and souls, see Porphyry *De Antr.* 25–6 [73–4]: the North wind is associated with *genesis* and the South wind with a return to the "warmth of the divine".

τὴν ὀθόνην: on Greek sails, see Casson (1971) 233–5; Péron (1974) 49–57. For the use of related terms in philosophy, cf. Plut. *De Gen.* 590C, where Timarchus tells how in the Cave of Trophonius his soul, after being cramped for a long time, had again found relief and was growing larger than before, spreading out like a sail (ὥσπερ ἱστίον ἐκπεταννυμένην); cf. the Phallonauts below (2.45).

ἐπιτρέψαντες... ἐχειμαζόμεθα: the storm motif is frequently used in the *VH* (1.9–10; 30; 34; 2.2; 37; 47); cf. *Nav.* 8; *Tox.* 20. In *Pisc.* 29 Frankness says to Philosophy that he fled after realizing all the disagreeable attributes a public-speaker needs (chicanery, a loud mouth etc.); he set out to attain Philosophy's high ideals, expecting to sail out of stormy waters into a peaceful haven and to spend the rest of his life under Philosophy's protection (cf. Plat. *Rep.* 496D). In *Icar.* 5, a similar expression is used by Menippus when he says ruefully that he entrusted himself (ἐγχειρίσας) to the philosophers, expecting that they would tell the whole truth. On storms and their symbolism in Pindar, see Péron (1974) 278–308.

ἡμέρας ἐννέα καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα: cf. Iambulus ap. Diod. 2.55.6; such accuracy with numbers is one of the devices Lucian uses to make his narrative plausible (cf. G-L [1994] 1496–7), but the number itself is exaggerated. This is the first truly fantastic detail. Lucian's awareness of the sensational effect that large numbers create for the reader and his rejection of such tricks in historiography are apparent from his remarks in *Hist.* 20. On numbers in the *VH*, see Scarcella (1985). Diogenes, according to Ptolemy, *Geograph.* 1.9.1–2, travelled for 25 days down the east African coast, blown before the NE monsoon of the Indian Ocean.

ὑψηλὴν καὶ δασεῖαν... περιηχουμένην τῷ κύματι: Calypso's island is covered with woods and Eustathius (ad *Od.* 1389.44–6) reads something into this: it represents the materiality of the world; see Buffière (1956) 461–4. The echoing sea shore also may symbolize the material world (cf. Porph. *De Antr.* 34 [80] and Introd. II.1).

ἀπεκρίναμεν... νήσῳ: compare the similar scene in *Od.* 9.90 (ἄνδρε δύω κρίνας); whereas Odysseus takes two companions ashore and leaves the rest behind, Lucian's narrator goes ashore with twenty and returns with two left behind.

ἐπὶ κατασκοπῇ: "for a careful investigation"; cf. Xen. *Cyr.* 6.2.9; Diod. 3.42.1, πρὸς κατασκοπήν. This recalls the curiosity, which was one motivation for the journey in 1.5, and the emphasis on autopsy and careful scrutiny of evidence required for the composition of a historical narrative (cf. σκοπή: Hist. 5, 29, cf. also 37, 47). In *Hermotimus*, Lycinus lays great stress upon thorough observation and investigation (ἐπισκοπεῖν, 40–41; see Tackaberry [1930] 59 n. 378 for related terms). On autopsy, see Schepens (1975) and (1980).

1.7–9: THE ISLAND OF THE VINE-WOMEN

The first major episode has three elements: the discovery of an inscription of Heracles and Dionysus, the description of the wine-river and its source, and the encounter with the Vine-women. These are interconnected and are linked togther by Dionysian and initiatory themes. The mention of Dionysus leads into the description of the river of wine bubbling up from the roots of the vines, which is followed by the discovery of the marvellous Vine-women across the river. The episode is suggestive of an initiation ritual: the travellers first encounter a token of the god's presence on the island, then they find the source of the fluid associated with him and partake of a sample. Having been initiated, they are able to cross the river—another highly symbolic action—and on the other side they have their first encounter with the genuinely mysterious Vine-women, who welcome them to the world of hybrid forms.

The initiation also operates on the literary level: in this episode, the encounter with the stele of Heracles and Dionysus could represent an initiation into comedy: both these figures are standard characters in comedy and satyr-plays. A burlesquing of Heracles—that is, a "Dionysian" transformation of the hero into a figure of fun—appears elsewhere in Lucian as symbolic of *historia* mixed with poetry (*Hist.* 10). The consumption of the fish from the river of wine represents an encounter with both poetry and philosophy: the travellers become "drunk" and, thus, inspired with Dionysian poetry. One may compare the description in the *prolalia Dionysus* (7) of the old man who drinks from the spring of Silenus and acquires a splendid voice. Such men begin to speak like Odysseus and tell long stories. The association of wine with poetry is obvious, and in the context of the *VH*, it is also associated with lies: a similar notion is contained in,

for instance, the passage of Bacchylides (fr. 20B [Snell]) quoted in Athenaeus 39 E–F, illustrating the contention that wine alters the spirit (γνώμη) so completely that it inclines towards illusion (τὸ ψευδές). The fact that the wine on the island is "very like Chian" (see p. 73 below) may be an allusion to Homer: in other words, the poetry which affects the travellers is similar to that of the Homeric variety. Therefore, there will be many allusions to the *Odyssey* in the upcoming narrative. On water and wine as symbols of inspiration, see Crowther (1979).

The drinking of the wine also precipitates the voyagers' trip to the moon, which is a parody of the search for philosophical knowledge, a process also explored at length in *Icar.* 4–10 (see Introd. II.3 above). Lucian links wine and philosophy elsewhere: in *Herm.* 58–62, for example, Hermotimus claims that it is possible to compare and judge philosophies by sampling a little of each, as one does with wine. Lycinus counters with the view that it is necessary to drink the whole jar in order to get the nectar for which he has been thirsting. In other words, philosophies cannot be judged by examining only a part of the whole. In *Symp.* 3, the philosophers get drunk on wine and carried away in argument; this is like a Dionysian initiation, a prerequisite for the ensuing philosophical discussions. Seneca (*De Tranq. An.* 17.8), for instance, says that the mind acquires new vigour and is enlivened by wine (*vectatio iterque et mutata regio vigorem dabunt convictusque et liberalior potio*), but only if taken in moderation. Also, Athenaeus 40C quotes Antiphanes' dictum [fr. 268, *PCG*] that the man who fills himself with wine continually becomes thoughtless, but the one who drinks moderately becomes full of ideas. Lucian's wine-drinkers are often not so restrained: in *Bis Acc.* 15, we hear of Polemon, who was a "drunkard" (but not a completely lost one) and was brought to sobriety by the teachings of the Academy: she forced him to drink water, but then he went to the other extreme and became completely pale. The Academy advocates temperance, represented perhaps by a mixture of wine and water. In *Nigr.* 5, Lucian says that his experience with philosophy was like that which the Hindus had with wine when they first tasted it. They were crazed (ἐξεβακχεύθησαν; cf. Plat. *Phdr.* 234D συνεβάκχευσα) by the unwatered drink and he is going about "enthused" and drunk with Nigrinus' discourse (ἔνθεος καὶ μεθύων ὑπὸ τῶν λόγων).

The episode of the wine-river and the Vine-women is followed by the trip to the Moon; the initiation into the realm of the Dionysian

thus may be seen as bringing about the visit to the first of the alternative worlds depicted in the *VH* (the others being the inside of the Whale and the Isle of the Blessed). The intoxication with wine results in a flight to the realm of philosophical speculation and "airy theorizing", which Lucian locates symbolically on the Moon. Thus, the opening episode is of crucial importance for what follows: it explains how the travellers get to the moon and the other exotic locations which are described in the rest of the story.

1.7

σταδίους: one stade is about 600 ft. or about 180 m. (6 plethra); cf. "Index Graecus" in Hultsch (1971) 215–6.

ὁρῶμεν ... καταγεγραμμένην: a link with the "real" world which has been left behind. Often in science fiction and fantastic narratives, the travellers find that, oddly enough, the peoples whom they encounter speak their language. Here in the *VH* perhaps the probability of finding so many Greek speakers in so many distant places is an additional fantastic element (cf. 1.8, 11; 2.46). On the motif of the "stele", cf. the story about Plato and Pythagoras deriving their philosophy from the Egyptian stele of Hermes in Iamblichus *De Myster.* 1.2. Euhemerus of Messene (c. 300 BCE) wrote a work called Ἱερὰ Ἀναγραφή, which was an account of a journey to the imaginary island of Panchaea in the Indian Ocean (see Introd. III.2), where he found a golden column with an inscription. The writing described the lives and deeds of the earlier kings who were later worshipped as Uranus, Cronus and Zeus: see *FGrH* 63 F1–3; "Euemeros (3)" *RE* 6.1 (1907) cols. 952–72 [Jacoby]; Fraser (1972) vol. 1, 289–95; vol. 2, 447–56. In Phil. *VA* 5.5, Apollonius comes to a shrine of Heracles on a small island at Gadeira and sees pillars inscribed with letters which were neither Egyptian nor Indian nor of any other decipherable tongue; he said that the pillars were ties between the Earth and the Ocean to prevent discord from arising between the elements. Other typically fake Lucianic inscriptions occur in *Dips.* 6; *Tox.* 42.

ἀμυδροῖς δὲ καὶ ἐκτετριμμένοις: hysteron proteron; the emphasis on the illegibility of the inscription which is caused by the reversal of the expected sequence of cause and effect underlines the effort involved in the deciphering of the writing. This effort adds to the realism of the narrative and is in line with the historiographical precepts

expounded in *Hist.* 29, 37, 47; cf. Thuc. 6.54.7 on an inscription of the son of Hippias, effaced by the Athenians, but still legible.

Ἄχρι τούτων ... ἀφίκοντο: Megasthenes recorded that Heracles and Dionysus ruled together in India, according to Diodorus (2.38.3–6); Arrian also records the conquest of India by these two figures (*Alex.* 4.28–30, 5.1, 6.3–4; cf. Phil. *VA* 2.43). On Dionysus and Heracles in India, see Noiville (1929); cf. Lacroix (1974). The two heroes appear together frequently in Plutarch (*Cim.* 3.2; *Ant.* 60.4–5; *De Herod. Malign.* 857D). Alexander was associated with Dionysus and Heracles: see Arr. *Alex.* 2.16.1–6; 3.3.2; 4.28.4; 4.30.4; 5.2.5; cf. Brunt (1976). In *De Fort. Rom.* 326B, Plutarch describes Alexander's eagerness for glory and his desire to pass beyond the limits of Dionysus' and Heracles' expeditions (ὑπερβαλέσθαι τὰ Διονύσου καὶ Ἡρακλέους πέρατα τῆς στρατηλασίας, cf. *Alex. Rom.* 1.46; Plut. *De Fort. Alex.* 332A). The stelae of Heracles in the west (1.5) are matched by the stelae of Dionysus in the east. The latter were mountains which marked the limit of Dionysus' travels (see Dion. Per. 623 and 1164). Thus Heracles and Dionysus establish the limits of the known world (cf. *Herm.* 4). Here, in the *VH*, we find a stele marking a further boundary fixed by these two figures. Both are semi-human (*Deor. Conc.* 4; 7). The two gods are named together (with other deities) in *Icar.* 27. In symbolic literary terms, the combination of Heracles and Dionysus represents the blending of History and Poetry (cf. *Hist.* 8–10; G-L [1994] 1477–8).

On Heracles' voyages, see Boardman (1989); on Dionysus' voyages, see Eur. *Bacch.* 13–20 and on that passage, see J. Roux (1972) 244–6. Heracles represents for the Cynics a hero fighting against the false and wrong things in the world (see n. on 1.9 p. 87 below). Plutarch (*De E ap. Delph.* 387D) associates Heracles with knowledge. In Heracl. *Hom. All.* 34.3, we are told why Heracles launches his arrows against the sky: every philosopher without coming out of his mortal body sends his *nous*, like a winged βέλος, into the upper regions (see Introd. II.2 above).

If the Island of the Vine-women is already part of the realm of the dead, then it is entirely appropriate that Heracles and Dionysus are mentioned, as they both made celebrated journeys to the Underworld (cf. on Heracles, Hom. *Il.* 8.366–9; *Od.* 11.623–6; Eur. *Herc. Fur.* 23–5; on Dionysus, Lesky [1936]; Moret [1993] 293–318). Homer (*Od.* 11.601–2) attempts to combine two traditions about Heracles: one that his soul was in Hades, the other that he became a god;

Plotinus (*Enn.* 1.1.12) allegorizes the passage in terms of the soul and its image, abandoned when the whole soul is contemplating the intelligible world; see also Buffière (1956) 404–9. Cumont (1942) notes that Dionysus and Heracles are both represented on sarcophagi as signifiers of immortality or the dead, especially in the imperial era (256; 294; 302; 416; 420). Their presence here then may suggest that the arrival at the island is, on one level, an entrance into the world of the dead. They are appropriate too because they both entered and returned from the world of the dead, as Lucian and company are apparently to do.

ἴχνη . . . Ἡρακλέους: Herodotus (4.82) describes a footprint of Heracles (2 cubits or about a metre long) on a rock in Scythia (cf. 2.91, where Perseus' sandal is reported to be 2 cubits in length). Lucian's length is an exaggeration in contrast to Herodotus' measurement and also to the credible three-stade distance of the trek inland. In Ps.-Aristotle's *Mir. Ausc.* 97.2 [*PG* p. 266] we are told that in Italy there are many memorials of Heracles on the roads which he travelled and around Pandosia in Iapygia there are footprints of the god on which no one may tread. In Plut. *De Fort. Alex.* 332A, Alexander imitates Heracles and follows the steps of Dionysus (Ἡρακλέα μιμοῦμαι . . . καὶ τὰ Διονύσου μετιὼν ἴχνη, cf. Arrian *Anab.* 4.10.6).

In symbolic terms, the difference between the imprint of history and poetry is not very marked (see introductory n. on the Island of the Vine-women 1.7–9 above for Heracles and Dionysus representing History and Poetry), but it seems to the narrator that history prevails slightly at this stage. Everything that has happened up to this point could, after all, actually occur in the world of reality. On the phenomenon of measurement and issues of deceit and authority, see Kula (1986), espec. Part I (1–126). The *plethron* is a unit of linear and spatial measurement; here probably the point is that the footprint is 100 ft. long, rather than square.

προσκυνήσαντες: used of eastern and non-Greek obeisance to a mortal king (cf. *D.Mort.* 25(12).3; *Nav.* 30, 37–38; *Nigr.* 21) and also the Greek practice of prostration before a divinity (see Radet [1931] 257); the word may be an allusion to the oriental origins of Dionysus (cf. the *prolalia Dionysus*). There appear to be several allusions to India in this section; cf. Reyhl (1969) 36; Romm (1992) 82–120. See also Tondriau (1948). In *Gall.* 18, Micyllus makes fun of the people in

Croton, Metapontum and Tarentum who follow dumbly and worship the footprints of Pythagoras.

ποταμῷ οἶνον ῥέοντι: compare the river of myrrh in 2.11; the springs of honey and myrrh, and rivers of milk and wine in 2.13; and the rivers of slime, blood and fire in 2.30. See J. Roux (1972) vol. 2, 465–7 on miracles associated with Dionysus. Theopompus said (*FGrH* 115 F278b–e; cf. Athen. 43D) that the water at Lyncestae is sharp and that people drinking from it are affected as if they had drunk wine; cf. Antig. 164 (in *PG* p. 102); Apollon. 20 (*ib.* 320); *Paradox. Vatic.* 12 and 22, (*ib.* 334 and 338). See also Arist. *Meteor.* 2.3. 359b11–19; Plin. *HN* 31.16; Theophr. fr. 159 [Wimmer, p. 209]. Pliny *HN* 2.230 mentions the spring at Lyncestae and similar vinous waters in Paphlagonia (cf. Athen. 42E; Vitruv. 8.3). He also says that the spring which flows from the temple of Dionysus on Andros has the flavour of wine on the 5th of January each year (*ib.* 2.231). Ctesias described a fountain of wine on Naxos (Phot. *Bibl.* 46a33–4) and a river of honey (*ib.* 46b41). He also mentioned that the water in Aethiopia is red and those who drink from it become insane (Antig. 145 in *PG* p. 94; Diod. 2.14.4; Plin. *HN* 31.9; Str. 16.4.20).

Dio Chrysostom 35.18 mentions rivers of milk, wine, honey and oil in India, and Strabo (15.1.64) records that the sophist Calanus mentioned springs of the same fluids in India (see Stengel [1911] 15–6). Nonnus, *Dion.* 40.238 mentions a wine-breeding river with yellow water (οἰνοπόρος ποταμός). For the topos of the spring with special properties in fantastic and utopian literature, cf. Iambulus ap. Diod. 2.57.3, 58.7, 59.9. In Lucian *Saturn.* 7 (cf. 20), wine flowing like a river and springs of honey and milk are features of the golden Age of Cronus. On the wine-river, cf. Eisler (1925) 103; 336.

ὁ Χῖος (sc. οἶνος): cf. Aristoph. *Eccl.* 1139; on the qualities of the Chian wine, see Athen. 167E; he also quotes (29E) Hermippus to the effect that the Chian wine is "irreproachable and healthful" and says (32F) that it is the most pleasant (χαριέστατος), helps the digestion, produces good blood and is very mild and satisfying in its rich quality (33A). The Chian is one of the wines for which only the purest waters are suitable (33C). Pliny says that the wines of Chios and Thasos are held in the highest esteem, after those mentioned by Homer (*HN* 14.73). The river of wine recalls the common Homeric expression οἴνοπα πόντον (e.g. *Il.* 2.613, 5.771; *Od.* 3.286, 4.474), while

the reference to "the Chian" provides another allusive connection with Homer, the Chian poet. Theopompus notes that dark wine originated among the Chians (*FGrH* 115 F276, cf. Athen. 26B); perhaps, then, the river of wine on the Island of the Vine-women should be imagined as red in colour, like blood: this would certainly emphasize the mystical and initiatory aspects of the incident. Clearchus remarked (fr. 96, Wehrli, vol. 3 [Athen. 43F]) that water and milk are described as white, and wine and nectar as red.

τῆς Διονύσου ἐπιδημίας: cf. ἀποδημίας (1.3, 5). Both words refer to the same phenomenon, but from the perspective of the place visited and of the home respectively. The verbal echo makes a connection between Dionysus and the narrator, which is appropriate given the overtones of Bacchic initiation running throughout the text. See also Merkelbach (1962) 96; 134.

δόξαν δέ μοι: this marks the breaking off from the collective first person plural and returns the focus to the narrator himself; cf. ἔφην ἐγώ in 1.12 emphasizing that the narrator is in charge of the expedition.

ὅθεν ἄρχεται ... αὐτοῦ: cf. the search for the source of the Nile in Herodotus 2.28, a subject which was also discussed by Hecataeus (*FGrH* 1 F302c), Anaxagoras (A 42.5; A 91 [D-K]), and Arrian, *Ind.* 6.6–7).

παρὰ δὲ τὴν ῥίζαν ... ποταμός: cf. Verg. *Aen.* 3.22–48, the story of Polydorus and the blood trickling from the myrtle shoots that grew from the spears which killed him (cf. 1.8 below). Aglaosthenes says that on Naxos wine springs naturally from the ground and is carried along a river without mixing with water; whoever tastes it loses his mind (*Paradox. Palat.* 7, in *PG* p. 354). Here, on the Island of the Vine-women, the wine also flows unmixed, and when the travellers depart, they fill jars of both water and wine for the journey (*VH* 1.9). Ctesias (ap. Phot. 72.46a31–4) refers to fountains with fish in Zacynthos and a spring at Naxos from which sweet wine flows.

διαυγοῦς: translucent, usually of water; cf. Ps.-Arist. *Mir. Ausc.* 840b34. The same adjective is used of the rivers (*VH* 2.5) and the glass trees (2.14) on the Isle of the Blessed. The word suggests purity and has religious and mystical overtones: Hesychius says it means the same as φωτίζω, and διαυγασθείς in Joseph. *Ant. Jud.* 5.10.4 [34] means "being enlightened" or "receiving the truth". In Plut. *De Pyth. orac.*

408E, διαύγεια refers to the "clarity" of sayings and in *De Fac.* 943E to the quality of souls on the moon.

ἐμφαγόντες ἐμεθύσθημεν: the travellers get drunk not by drinking but by eating. This is an unexpected and strange detail, although it recalls the οἰνοῦττα, which was a kind of cake, made of barley mixed with wine, water and oil, eaten by Athenian rowers (Aristoph. *Plut.* 1121). The word is also used by Aristotle (fr. 107 [Rose]) of a plant with intoxicating properties. Theophrastus reports that the pomegranates in Egypt tasted of wine (*HP* 2.2.7; *De Caus. Pl.* 1.9.2; cf. Apollon. 43 in *PG* p. 138). Pliny mentions a fish called the "Bacchus" (*HN* 9.61; 32.102; 145). The travellers become "drunk" and, thus, inspired with Dionysian qualities: cf. the description in the *prolalia Dionysus* (7) of the old man, who drinks from the spring of Silenus and acquires a splendid voice. Such men begin to speak like Odysseus and tell long stories. A fountain whose water produces the opposite effect, i.e. an inability to tolerate the smell of wine, is mentioned by Apollonius 12, 13, 24 (πηγὴν μισάμπελον, *PG* pp. 318 and 320, cf. *Paradox. Palat.* 5, *ib.*, p. 354). The incident of the Wine-river may allude to Lethe in Hades: in *De Luct.* 5, Alcestis, Theseus and Odysseus do not drink from it and so are, supposedly, reliable witnesses about the features of the Underworld.

τρυγὸς μεστούς: cf. *Herm.* 60, where philosophy is compared to wine, and the best is hidden under the lees. Also, in *Symp.* 2 telling tales about the happenings at the banquet is compared to scattering the dregs on (or of) the philosophers who were present.

παραμιγνύντες: the mixing of the "wine fish" and the "water fish" parallels the Greek practice of blending wine with water (cf. *Il.* 3. 269; *Od.* 1.110).

ἐκεράννυμεν . . . οἰνοφαγίας: the verb κεράννυμι is used mostly of diluting wine with water; here it means "temper by mixing"; the word οἰνοφαγία is a *hapax*, probably formed by analogy with οἰνοποσία (cf. also ὠμοφαγία). The idea of the winey fish brings about the coinage of a word.

1.8

ὁ στέλεχος: usually a neuter noun; used in the masculine by Lucian; neuter in Pollux 10.166; gender unclear in Alciphron *Ep.* 3.19.5. The sexual connotations are strengthened by the adjectives (εὐερνὴς καὶ

παχύς). In 1.22 the Tree-men are made from a big tree of flesh (οἷον φαλλός) which grows from a testicle planted in the ground.

τὸ δὲ ἄνω γυναῖκες . . . τέλεια: cf. the Snake-women described by Herodotus 4.9: τῆς μὲν ἄνω ἀπὸ τῶν γλουτῶν εἶναι γυναικός, τὰ δὲ ἔνερθε ὄφιος. Hybrid creatures feature prominently in the *VH* (cf. 2.46 and G-L [1994] 1500). The Vine-women also recall the maenads of Dionysus, and the Sirens, both of which groups pose a threat to males who come into contact with them. In *Dea Syr.* 14, Derkito, the mother of Semiramis, is a fish-woman: from the thighs to the tips of the feet, there is a fish's tail; see Parker (1984) on women and ambiguous animals. According to Heraclitus *Hom. All.* 35, the "nurses" attacked by Lycurgus in *Il.* 6.132–7 are actually the vines; this kind of allegory may lie behind the mixture of vine and human form here.

The encounter with the Vine-women forms a doublet with the episode of the Ass-legs at the conclusion of the narrative in 2.46; in both cases hybrid women try to entrap them; it is also parallelled by the Island of cheese in 2.3 (see Anderson [1976c] 8–10). The theme of entrapment runs throughout the *VH* (Endymion; the Whale; the Ass-legs) and the Sirens are archetypes of the dangerous lure: they also represent the attraction of poetic song (*Od.* 12.189–91), which has the power to "bewitch". The Sirens of Homer are changed into symbols of divine order in the cosmos through their connection with the other sirens who generate the music of the spheres in the myth of Er (Lamberton [1986] 7–8; 37; 52; 230–1: Philo *Quaest. Gen.* 3.3). Proclus (*In Plat. Rem publ.* 2.238.9–20) says there are three groups of Sirens: celestial, belonging to Zeus; in the terrestrial world, belonging to Poseidon; and chthonic, belonging to Pluto: this parallels the three episodes of the *VH*: the lunar voyage, the Whale, and the land of the Dead.

Studies of Herodotus indicate a view of the world according to which human beings become more like animals the further one goes from the Hellenic or Mediterranean "centre": see Rossellini and Saïd (1978) 961; Hartog (1980) 33; Romm (1992) 46–9. There seems to be a progression of this kind in the *VH*; the narrator first encounters people who are half-plant, then hybrids with human and animal parts. One of the most famous accounts of such creatures was Ctesias' description of the Dog-heads: see Romm (1992) 78–81, who notes the satiric potential of these hybrids in connection with the

"doggish" Cynics [81]; also Kartunnen (1984). See also Verdenius (1977). On connections with the Libyan women in Dio *Orat.* 5, see G-L (1997).

τὴν Δάφνην ... ἀποδενδρουμένην: see Ovid, *Met.* 1.452–567; Brosse (1989) 201–3; Giraud (1969). Daphne was trying to escape Apollo's attentions, but the Vine-women sollicit sexual contact with the sailors, cf. *D.Deor.* 17(15).2; *De Sacr.* 4. The reference introduces the motif of metamorphosis, which is appropriate for a work in which the boundaries of the actual world are constantly blurred. Perhaps the Vine-women were transformed into their present shape by Dionysus when he visited the island; see further, Anderson (1976a) 27. In *D.Mar.* 4, Menelaus doubts Proteus' transformational ability to become fire; while he can even believe that Proteus can become a tree, Menelaus thinks that a change into fire would be a trick of the eyes.

On the metamorphosis of women into trees to escape the attentions of a pursuing male, cf. the story of the virgins chased by Boreas, who turned into willow-like trees; and even now, if somebody touches the leaves, they say that the wind becomes angry and blows strongly for 3 days (*Paradox. Vatic.* 15, in *PG* p. 336). Nonnus, *Dion.* 21.17–169 tells the story of Ambrosia (modelled on Daphne, cf. 2.107–8) who is changed into a vine-shoot and wraps herself around Lycurgus. He is freed by Hera, but is blinded by Zeus. Propertius (1.18.20) relates how Pitys fled from Pan and was transformed into a pine-tree. Heraclitus (*Quaest. Hom.* 66.14–15), writing about the metamorphosis of Proteus into various animals and a tall tree, comments that the symbolic meaning of the tree is the air.

αἱ μὲν Λύδιον ... προϊέμεναι: in the *Alexander Romance* 3.17, Alexander, while in India, is taken to see plants speaking in a human voice at a shrine of the Sun and Moon; he is told to enter in purity to receive an oracle; the trees speak in the Indian language. In Philostratus *VA* 6.10, a tree speaks like a woman. Heracles is connected with Lydia (the episode with Omphale is mentioned in *Hist.* 10; cf. G-L [1994] 1477, 1505), as is Dionysus. Both figures are associated with India (see n. on 1.7 above). The reference to India seems appropriate given Lucian's allusions to the writings of Ctesias and others on the topic; India may have been particularly associated with hybrid beings, since Duris remarked that some Indians have unions with animals and their offspring is mixed (*FGrH* 76 F48; Pliny *HN* 7.30). The three languages testfiy to the mingling of Greek and eastern cultures,

embodied, for instance, in the cult of Dionysus. In *D.Deor.* 22.1 Lydia and India are mentioned in connection with Dionysus.

παράφορος: staggering (when drunk) cf. *Vit. Auct.* 12; also of being mad, cf. *Symp.* 16 (the Cynic Alcidamas has a wild fierce look—δριμὺ καὶ παράφορον—when ridiculed); in *Fug.* 19, there is a description of philosophers when they become angry for some trivial reason and have a reckless, insane stare (παράφορον δεδορκότες). In *Am.* 13, the word is associated with sexual desire.

δρέπεσθαι . . . τοῦ καρποῦ: for the sexual overtones, cf. Longus 2.4.4, 3.33.3; Heliod. 10.32.2. The Stoics conceived of philosophy as a garden (and logic as the hedge); cf. *Herm.* 79, where Lycinus says that they throw away the "fruit which has to do with works" and keep the husk, throwing the leaves over each other: the fruit represents the virtuous life in action, the husk and the leaves the frivolous syllogisms and puzzles which the Stoics spent their time composing. In *Pisc.* 7, Plato complains that Frankness has been ungrateful since they opened their garden to him and did not forbid him to pick flowers (δρέπεσθαι), letting him go away with his arms full.

ἤλγουν: cf. the groaning cornel-tree in *Aen.* 3. 39–40 and the bleeding trees of Geryon in Phil. *VA* 5.5, in the description of the shrine of Heracles at Gadeira.

μίγνυσθαι: used of sexual intercourse and of mixing wine with water; cf. *Od.* 9.91: the men who "mingled with" (μίγεν) the Lotus-eaters. The fact that the Vine-women solicit intercourse fits in with the patriarchal imagining of women, summarized by Downing (1991) 136: "because of the emphasis on the phallus as the sexual organ, women were routinely imagined as more lustful than men"; cf. Keuls (1985) 82 who says women were depicted "as obsessed with insatiable lust to fill up their vaginal void with penises, real or artificial". The emphasis on the phallus (cf. *VH* 1.22; 30; 2.45) is matched by a fear of women and their sexual organs; on the Vine-women and the Ass-legs as gender-b(i)ased metaphors for the dangers of reading, see Larmour (1997).

πλησιάσαντες: "having sexual intercourse with" (+ dat.): cf. 1.22, 2.19, 28, but in 2.42 it means approach, without any sexual overtones; it also means to associate with a philosopher (*Herm.* 80). For associations between the genitals and philosophizing cf. *Eun.* 12–13

(a joke about having the "balls" to practise philosophy). Anderson (1976a) 27 refers to Plat. *Symp.* 191C, where Aristophanes says that men used to deposit their seed directly upon the earth, which he regards as "the next thing to an affair with a plant".

οὐκέτι ἀπελύοντο . . . ἐδέδεντο: the scholiast refers to the companions of Odysseus who eat the lotus [Rabe, 19]; cf. *Od.* 9. 95–6: those who eat it have no desire to leave and are forgetful of their *nostos.* In *Rep.* 560C, the Lotus-eaters represent false and arrogant reasonings and opinions. In Iambulus (ap. Diod. 2.56.3) we are told that when the islanders have seized an object in their hands nobody can extract it from the grasp of their fingers. In *VH* 2.31, Cinyras' punishment for his sexual liaison with Helen takes the form of being suspended by the genitals. In Herodotus 1.108, Astyages dreams that a vine grew from the genitals of his daughter Mandane.

After the lesson provided by the two men who mingled with the Vine-women, the narrator and his crew avoid all such liaisons with the creatures they meet on their journey: the narrator refuses to marry Endymion's son (1.21) and flees from the Ass-legs (2.46). Likewise, Rhadamanthus permits them to stay only temporarily among the Blessed (2.10). The motif of mixing and the avoidance of mixing runs throughout the narrative (1.7; 1.9; 1.35; 2.27; 2.43). In Plut. *De Fac.* 926F–927A, the mingling of disparate elements in the universe is said to have been effected by Eros. The avoidance of sexual intercourse by the narrator and most of his fellow-travellers may allude to such theories.

συνεφύοντο . . . συνερριζοῦντο: cf. Ovid, *Met.* 5.373–9, on Hermaphroditus and Salmacis: they are joined like a twig grafted onto a tree, when the branches grow as one. This episode anticipates the wooden penises of the Moonmen in 1.22 and the men using their penises as ship-masts in 2.45. Perhaps the transformational aspect recalls the Circe episode in *Od.* 10: in a fragment preserved by Stobaeus (1.41.60), Porphyry connects the cycle of death and rebirth with Circe, commenting as follows on the souls: "the urge for pleasure makes them long for their accustomed way of life . . . the souls are bewitched and softened by the pleasures that lead them back again to γένεσις and at this point they have special need of great good fortune and self-restraint lest they follow and obey their worst parts and their emotions and take on an accursed and beastly life" (transl. Lamberton [1983] 10). Cf. n. on the Ass-legs in 2.46.

1.9

καταλιπόντες ... ἀμπελομιξίαν: cf. *Od.* 9. 95; 12.41–3. The two sailors are left behind without much show of remorse by the narrator: in symbolic terms, they became too drunk on poetry and succumbed to its lure, while the narrator and the others did not. The picturesque *hapax* ἀμπελομιξία means "intercourse with vines". In his comments on Antonius Diogenes, Photius singles out two motifs in fictional works of this kind: (1) wrongdoers paying a penalty and (2) many guiltless people, though on the brink of great danger, being saved many times in defiance of expectation (112a7–12). The second is prevalent in the *VH*, but on two occasions (here with the Vine-women and in the story of Cinyras in 2.26) misdemeanours are punished. Both cases involve sexual intercourse with women. The Ass-leg incident threatens to become a third example, but it appears that by that stage the travellers have learned their lesson, as they manage to escape.

If the Vine-women episode is an allegory of the life of the senses, it could allude to what Porphyry says about the Polyphemus episode in *Od.* 9: Polyphemus seems to represent the life of the senses in mythical form in *De Antr.* 11–13 [80] (cf. Lamberton [1986] 131). Lamberton comments that "the Cyclops becomes a part of Odysseus—a part he wants desperately to escape—but his ineptitude in handling his escape at that early point in his career involves him in an arduous spiritual journey" (131). The same pattern occurs in the career of Lucian in the *VH*: the flight to the Moon follows immediately.

Also, Plotinus *Enn.* 1.6.8, *On Beauty*, says that the man searching for true beauty must not run after the beauty in bodies, but rather "put out to sea" like Odysseus did from Circe or Calypso, as the poet says, with a hidden meaning (αἰνιττόμενος). "For if a man runs to the image and wants to seize it as if it was the reality ... then this man who clings to beautiful bodies and will not let them go, will, like the man in the story, but in soul, not in body, sink down into the dark depths where intellect has no delight, and stay blind in Hades, consorting with shadows there and here" (transl. A.H. Armstrong, Loeb vol. 1.257). The fate of Cinyras in Book 2 provides another example of this phenomenon, with Helen representing perhaps the ultimate in female bodily beauty.

In symbolic readings of Odysseus' adventures, figures like the Lotus-eaters and the Sirens represent vices which the ideal man shuns: the Lotus-eaters represent pleasure in Heracl. *Hom. All.* 70.3; Max. Tyr.

14.4; Jul. *Orat.* 6.184D; the Sirens represent pleasure, poetry (cf. Plut. *Quom. adolesc. poet. aud.* 15D), and study (cf. Cic. *De Fin.* 5.49); see also Eust. ad *Od.* 1709.28–32; cf. Buffière (1956) 381–86; Rahner (1963) 328–86; Kaiser (1964) 111–36. See also similar interpretations of Calypso, Buffière (1956) 388–91; 461–4; Eust. ad *Od.* 1389.42–4; 1390.2–3. Both the Vine-women and the Ass-legs (2.46) should be considered in this light.

ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ οἰνισάμενοι: a humorous variant on the standard οἶνον οἰνίζεσθαι (cf. *Il.* 8.506, 546).

αὐλισάμενοι . . . ἀνήχθημεν: they sail away glad to have escaped death, although they have lost two dear comrades. The departure recalls *Od.* 9.556–61; cf. *Od.* 9.565–6.

1.9–10: THE JOURNEY TO THE MOON

The flight to the Moon derives ultimately from mythical sources, such as the story of Daedalus (see Jacob [1981]), and belongs to the literary tradition of the aerial journey (see Luck-Huyser [1997]). The motif is also used in the *Icaromenippus* and the *Charon* (see Introd. II.3). Among its most notable manifestations in other authors are the flight of Trygaeus in Aristophanes' *Pax* and that of Peisetairos and Euelpides in the *Aves*. See also the remains of Eur. *Bellerophon* (fr. 306–7 [Nauck]; *schol.* Aristoph. *Pax* 76; Helm [1906] 103) and of Varro, *Marcipor*, itself in imitation of Menippus (*Saturarum Menipp.* frr. 269–87 [Astbury]; cf. McCarthy [1934] 51). Antonius Diogenes' *The Wonders beyond Thule* included a trip to the moon (cf. Phot. *Bibl.* 111a7–11 and Introd. III.2 above). The aerial journey is also prevalent in philosophical writings, appearing in Parmenides' proem to his Περὶ Φύσεως (B 1 [D-K]); in Plato's *Phaedrus*, *Phaedo* and *Republic* (the myth of Er); and in many later sources (see Jones [1926]). The flight of the soul is a form of the flight for knowledge which becomes increasingly popular as a vehicle for explaining eschatological ideas. In Plat. *Rep.* 611E, for instance, Socrates pictures the soul which is given over to the divine and eternal sphere being "carried out of the sea in which it now lies" and stripped of the rocks and shellfish which have attached themselves to it "as earthy, hard and wild elements" (cf. *Phd.* 109C–110A).

Being carried off into the sky in the *VH* represents a flight into

the realm of poetic frenzy, recalling *Hist.* 45, where the historian is advised to keep his diction on the ground and not get carried away ἐς τὸν τῆς ποιητικῆς κορύβαντα. In *Hist.* 16, the bare recording of facts and details is described as "prosaic" (πεζόν) and "close to/on the ground" (χαμαιπετές), the kind of history that would be written by a soldier or an artisan; by somebody, in other words, who does not have that poetic ability which would lift him off the ground in stylistic terms (see also *J. Trag.* 1–3; Plat. *Phdr.* 238D, 241E; G-L [1994] 1488–9).

Lucian also connects flying up to the heavens with philosophizing; the best example is provided by the flight of Menippus to talk to Zeus in the *Icaromenippus* (see Introduction, II.3): in *Icar.* 10–11, Menippus' first attempts at flying resemble the flight of geese, which is close to the ground (ἔτι χαμαιπετῶς ἐπαιρόμενος), and then, becoming bolder, he flies from the Acropolis down into the theatre. After this, he aspires to the heights (μετέωρα ἐφρόνουν). The process described is the transition from down-to-earth speculations to the more fanciful notions—flights of tragic poetry and, finally, the doctrines of philosophers, which are, so to speak, in the clouds. In *Herm.* 5, the Sceptic Lycinus makes fun of the Stoics, depicting them as being high in the clouds (ὑπερνεφέλους), while all the others hover near the ground far below. In Aristoph. *Nu.* 227–30, Socrates says he could never have made the right discoveries about celestial phenomena except by "hanging up" his mind and mixing the minute particles of his thought into the air, which it resembles.

The destination of the voyage is the moon, reflecting a long tradition of seeing this as an alternative or analogous world. The idea is found, for instance, in Proclus (*In Plat. Tim.* 36D), who records that the theologians call the moon "earth", because of the earth's kindred relationship (οἰκειότης) to it. In Plut. *De Fac.* 934C, the nature of the Moon is described as "earthy and compact" (cf. 935C). Simplicius (*In Arist. De Caelo*, p. 512, 19 [Heiberg]) says that the Pythagoreans called the moon ἀντίχθων (Cumont [1942] 184 n. 2). In Stoic theories, the moon is not earthy, but made of air and soft fire (a doctrine refuted in *De Fac.* 921F; cf. Ps.-Plut. *De Plac. phil.* 891B; 892B). In *De Fac.* 940D–E, the argument is made by Lamprias that if we could not touch the sea—having only a view from afar and the information that it is bitter, undrinkable and salty water—and if someone said that it supports in its depths many large animals of various shapes and is full of beasts which use water as we

use air, such statements would seem to us to be a tissue of myths and marvels: such, he suggests, is our attitude to the question of inhabitants on the moon. There are correspondances between the earth and the moon in those Stoic doctrines which make *sympatheia* the agent of unification of the universe (see Reinhardt [1926]). In Plat. *Phd.* 110B–111C, Socrates describes the "real (or upper) earth" under the heavens: it has different plant life and more beautiful stones, and men live there in a blessed condition.

Accordingly, what happens on the moon in the *VH* is presented in such a way that the general features of the Moonmen's life can still be recognized as familiar by an educated audience, especially one with knowledge of the philosophical schools and their doctrines. As a consequence, the apparently bizarre happenings on the moon should be understood as pointing directly to earthly concerns, such as the philosophers' arguments and disputes, a theme which dominates much of Lucian's oeuvre. As a device, the aerial journey allows an author to survey the entire world from a distanced viewpoint; hence it is often used in satirical, utopian and subversive forms of writing; see further Jacob (1981); Luck-Huyse (1997).

The Moon and its inhabitants and the war between Endymion and Phaethon resemble their earthly counterparts in certain aspects, but this alternative world is seen through the distorting mirror of philosophical doctrines. In the Platonic theory of Ideas, the duplicate world is the ideal world, and can only be reached through philosophical education. Lucian's Moonworld, instead of a Platonic ideal world, is a place of monstrous creatures and strange customs. It sets the pattern for the rest of the *VH*. There are three alternative worlds in the *VH*, which form the backbone of the narrative: the Moon, the inside of the whale, and the Isle of the Blessed. In *Icar.* 8, Menippus says that there was a childish dispute among the philosophers: some talk about the universe as if it is one world, others assert that there are many worlds.

The Moon is also the resting-place of the souls of the dead, according to Pythagorean eschatology. The lunar episode in *VH* 1 alludes to such beliefs and functions as a parallel to the account of another traditional version of the after-life, the Isle of the Blessed, in *VH* 2. On the Moon and the souls, see Cumont (1942) 177–252, ch. 3, "La lune, séjour des morts"; Burkert (1972) 357–68; Préaux (1973) 138–9 and Introd. II.3 above. The idea of the moon as a place of the sojourn of souls is circulating in the 5th century BCE, possibly

hailing from the Magusians of Iran. From them it came to the Pythagoreans, Plato and the Stoics, and then on to Rome, where it is elaborated in Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis* (see Cumont [1949] 144–8; Preaux [1973] 142). It may also have existed in Greek popular religion long before its appearance in texts and it is possible that the Pythagoreans found it there. At any rate, in a 5th-century inscription, we find the words "the *aither* has received the souls" (*IG* 1^2 945; cf. Aristoph. *Pax* 827–30; Eur. *Suppl.* 1140; Préaux [1973] 136–7). This is suggestive of belief in an aerial location of the abode of the dead.

Lucian is obviously aware of the idea of souls on the moon, since in *Icar.* 13, Menippus mistakes Empedocles for a "moon daimon" (σεληναῖον δαίμονα ᾠήθην ὁρᾶν). This is the seed from which the more elaborate parody in the *VH* is produced. Consequently, the Moon episode in the *VH* can be read as a parody of a range of philosophical beliefs—especially Pythagorean—about the soul's journey to, and its sojourn at, its lunar station (cf. Cumont [1942] 190).

The connection between the moon and the soul is ultimately founded on the divinization of the sun, moon, and stars which we see in the thought of Pythagoras and Plato. Towards the end of the Hellenistic period, and in what Préaux (1973) 61–2 terms the "mystic landscape" at the end of antiquity, the moon plays a significant role in the journey of the soul in search of immortality or some kind of survival. The idea of the flying soul is found in the Orphic belief that it is carried by winds into the body by respiration (Arist. *De Anim.* 410b [*Orph. Fr.* 27 (Kern)]. The belief in an aerial soul thus becomes associated with reincarnation; forced to return to the world of the living by Necessity, the soul floats in the atmosphere until it enters the newly born, to whom it communicates life (Philo, *De Somn.* 1.138–9; Plut. *Quaest. conv.* 740C; cf. the baby Moonites are born dead but come alive when held up to the wind in *VH* 1.22). Such ideas are especially prevalent in the thought of the atomists Democritus and Leucippus and among the Pythagoreans (see Préaux [1973] 135–44); see further, Bousset (1901); Weiker (1902); Jones (1926); Kroll (1931); Luck-Huyse (1997), espec. 157–77.

A Pythagorean doctrine places the Isles of the Blessed on the Sun and the Moon: see Iamblichus, *Vit. Pythag.* 18.82 (cf. Capelle [1917] 6): τί ἐστιν αἱ μακάρων νῆσοι; ἥλιος καὶ σελήνη. Another (Diog. Laert. 8.32) declares the air to be full of souls called daimones and heroes (cf. the remarkably populous sky in the lunar episode of the *VH*). Pythagoras himself was thought to be "one of the daimones who

live on the moon", a conceit attributed to the Pythagoreans in a fragment of Aristotle (192 [Rose]; cf. Iambl. *Vit. Pyth.* 30); see also Burkert (1972) 361–3. The Elysian Plains become Plains of the Moon lit by the sun, and the etymological connection between "Helios" and "Elysium" reinforces this notion (Plut. *De Fac.* 924C; Porph. ap. Stob. 1.49, 61; Préaux [1973] 138). Similar ideas appear in Plato's myth of Er: in *Rep.* 614A–621B the souls on their journey to reincarnation are flitting about in the celestial regions. Stoic beliefs presented the soul as made of fine particles, fiery, and therefore, as tending to join the stars (Sext. Emp. *Adv. Math.* 9.71). The exhalations from the earth attract it upwards too, and the Moon feeds on these (cf. the tribute of dew which Endymion gives to Phaethon in *VH* 1.20). The various theories are summarized by Tertullian *De Anim.* 54–5 (*SVF* 2.814): Pythagoras, Empedocles, Plato and the Stoics place the souls of the wise in the upper regions (Plato, in the *aither*; Arius, in the air; the Stoics, under the moon). The other souls they cast down to the lower regions. He continues: "but our resting place is in the aether . . . or around the moon with the Endymions of the Stoics". Lucian may also be parodying Stoic beliefs in a celestial immortality, symbolized by the apotheosis of Heracles, i.e. the liberation of his divine soul through fire. When the travellers leave the Island of the Vine-women and the sea of matter in the whirlwind, they may be following the same route that Heracles took, since he is mentioned in the inscription as having come to the island; see further, Edsman (1949) 17–203; 233–45; Galinsky (1972) 5; 104; 127–9; 167–84.

Two sojourns of the dead (the underground and the lunar) thus manage to coexist in Greek thought. The Pythagoreans interpreted Homer's "edge of the earth" as the Moon, and so located the Elysian fields there (Servius ad *Aen.* 6.887; Cumont [1942] 187). Plutarch similarly tries to reconcile the two traditional forms of the afterlife, the subterranean (or "Demeter") and the celestial ("Moon/Persephone"). The identification of Persephone/Kore with the moon is an ancient one, found in the Orphics and Epicharmus (Préaux [1973] 144). Within his lunar eschatology, Plutarch (*De Fac.* 943A–B) envisions two successive deaths which strip away two of the three parts of the human being, leaving one, intellect (νοῦς). In the first death, Hermes presides and denudes the person of the body, leaving *psyche* and *nous*; in the second death, Hermes liberates *nous* from *psyche*, which is left on the moon (cf. the dissolution of the Moonmen into smoke in *VH*

1.23). The *nous* goes to join the sun whence it came and the soul remnant withers away (cf. the desire of some of Lucian's companions to go to the sun, *VH* 1.28). The souls are purified by the waters of the moon and the fire of the sun, now that Hades, the place of lustrations, is transferred to the sky (*Comm. Bern. Lucani* 47 [Usener]; Iambl. ap. Lyd. *De Mens.* 4.148 [p. 167. 25, Wünsch]). The Lunar stage can be perceived, then as an awaiting of a fate more pure and elevated, with the sun being the next destination (Plut. *De Fac.* 944C; Porph. ap. Stob. 1.49.55)—cf. the colony which Endymion plans to establish in *VH* 1.12 and 20—, or as a testing preceding the descent into terrestrial impurity (cf. the descent to the sea and the swallowing by the whale 1.30).

τυφὼν ... μετεωρίσας: the incident is possibly a parody of the Charybdis whirlpool (*Od.* 12.101–4), which three times a day sucks the water in then casts it out. Here the travellers are carried upwards by a whirlwind instead of down by a whirlpool. Ps.-Aristotle (*Mir. Ausc.* 130 [*PG* p. 288]) in a description of the surging waters of the Sicilian strait says that the compression of the narrow channel causes the wave to be carried high in the air (μετέωρον) over a large distance upwards (ἐπὶ πάνυ πολὺν τόπον τῆς ἄνω φορᾶς); cf. Str. 1.3.11; *DG* 489. The flux and reflux in the straits of Sicily were thought to be caused by the Moon (Eratosth. ap. Strabo 1.3.11; cf. Préaux (1973) 115–16). In the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* 208 Ganymede is carried off from the earth in a whirlwind.

The boat caught up in a whirlwind may allude to the theory of the cosmic vortex, in which the earth is spun round in the middle of the universe; cf. Leucippus: τὴν γῆν ὀχεῖσθαι περὶ τὸ μέσον δινουμένην (A1 [D-K]); Anaximander A26 [D-K] (Eudemus fr. 145 [Wehrli]): ἡ γῆ μετέωρος· καὶ κινεῖται περὶ τὸ τοῦ κόσμου μέσον. Given where the ship ends up, it may be implied here that the whirlwind is caused by the Moon; it was known that there was a lunar cause of the tides (see Sext. Empir. *Adv. Math.* 9.78–9 [*SVF* 2.1013]); Préaux [1973] 56–7). Initially, the tides had been attributed to the winds (Plat. *Phd.* 111C–112E), but later they were linked to the moon (Préaux [1973] 104). The lunar explanation may have developed thanks to the travels of Pytheas in Atlantic: Aetius (3.17) says Pytheas explained that the fullness of the moon provokes the rise of the waves and the disappearance their ebb. Another theory which may have come to Lucian's attention suggests that the air between the earth and the moon is pulled up and down and that it precipitates on the Atlantic;

it is this which makes the water rise, because the revolution of the moon has an effect on the rotation of the earth (Seleucos Astronom. ap. Stob. 1.38.9; cf. Préaux [1973] 107). The *sympatheia* of the tides with the Moon was confirmed by Posidonius the Stoic (Str. 3.5.8); see further Todd (1989).

The word τῦφος, to which τυφῶν is related, signifies illusion and obfuscation for the Cynic philosophers: see Navia (1996) 138–41. The goal of the philosopher is the attainment of ἀτυφία (Caizzi [1980]). Navia also comments (139) that the monster Typhon is strangled by Heracles, the "paradigm of virtue and freedom" for the Cynics, who struggled against what he stood for, namely τῦφος. The island of Pera, Crates' utopia, was surrounded by a sea of τῦφος, on which people pursue the goals which the Cynics despised. On Lucian's attitude to the Cynics, see Knauer (1904); Helm (1906); Tackaberry (1930) 30–45; McCarthy (1934).

μετεωρίσας: the verb appears in Aristoph. *Av.* 1447, the earliest instance, according to Dunbar (1995) 682, of its metaphorical use with reference to the mind (cf. Demosth. 13.12). Thucydides 4.13.4 uses the word μετέωρος to describe a ship which is afloat (as opposed to aground), and in 1.48.3 of a ship on the high seas, while at 2.8.1 he uses it metaphorically of mental excitement. In Aristoph. *Av.* 690 the study of τὰ μετέωρα is a marker of philosophers (cf. *Nu.* 227–9; 360: Prodicus is one of the *meteorosophistai*). Dunbar (1995) 434 comments as follows: "To the ordinary Athenian citizen an interest in τὰ μετέωρα connoted not simply a willingness to waste time on useless knowledge but a deplorable inclination towards impious scepticism as to the divinity of earth, sun, moon, and stars, which . . . for many philosophers were lifeless matter". Menippus ridicules certain philosophers whose arguments are not "down to earth" (*Icar.* 5, ὑψαγόραι . . . οὐρανογνώμονες). He expected to become an expert on the heavens (μετεωρολέσχης cf. Plat. *Rep.* 489C). The ship hangs in suspension (ἄνω μετέωρον, *VH* 1.9) in the sky before it is blown along by the wind. A similar intermediate stage is found in *Icar.* 3, where the friend is "in suspense" (μετέωρός εἰμι ὑπὸ τῶν λόγων) waiting for Menippus' full account.

We may also compare μετέωρος in *Nigr.* 5, describing a state of philosophical enthusiasm, when Lucian is "drunk with the argument" (μεθύων ὑπὸ τῶν λόγων). The term μετέωρος is also linked with flying and philosophy in 18 (cf. *Men.* 21), and with intoxication in *Prom. Es.* 6). The connections between being drunk and being at sea are

graphically presented in Timaeus' story (*FGrH* 566 F149 [Athen. 37B–E]) of the house called "Trireme": a group of young men became so intoxicated that they thought they were sailing a trireme in a storm, so they threw all the furniture out of the house, as if tossing it overboard: see Slater (1976). The ship of the travellers is similarly out of control and cannot be steered (contrary to one of the conceits of Stoicism—the ship as the world with Providence guiding it). Damis the Epicurean makes fun of the Stoic in *J. Trag.* 46–49 for his claim that the ship has a captain.

κολπώσας: cf. the wind blowing through the tunics of the Ἀνεμοδρόμοι as if they were sails in *VH* 1.13. Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Dem.* 18 and 19) uses it of turgid and inflated language; cf. the similar use of ἐπουριάζω in *Hist.* 45: ποιητικοῦ τινος ἀνέμου ἐπουριάσοντος τὰ ἀκάτια. In *D.Mort.* 1(1).2, there is an analogous image when Menippus is described as having a "cloak full of windows and open to every wind" (ἅπαντι ἀνέμῳ ἀναπεπταμένον): the wind blows through the cloak of the philosopher just as it blows the narrator's ship along. In *VH* 2.45, the Phallonauts sail themselves along using their penises as masts and stretching sails from them.

1.10

ἑπτὰ δὲ ἡμέρας: cf. 1.6: 79 (nine and seventy) days; 1.13: 7 myriads; 1.21: 7 days; 1.32: 7 comrades; 1.34: 27 (seven and twenty) years; 1.37: 170 (seventy and one hundred) enemy casualties; 2.1: the whale does not feel the fire for 7 days and 7 nights; 2.10: the travellers are not allowed to stay in the land of the Blessed for more than 7 months; 2.11: 7 gates in the City of the Blessed; the duration of Saturn's rule is 7 days; 2.13: 7 rivers; 2.22: 7th term of office; 2.25: 7th month. In Iambulus' narrative the travellers spend 7 years (ap. Diod. 2.60.1) among the inhabitants of the 7 islands (2.58.7). In *D.Deor.* 12.2, Lucian mentions that Dionysus was taken from Semele's womb as a 7-month old embryo). On the symbolism of number 7, cf. Plut. *De E. ap. Delph.* 386A; Philo *Leg. All.* 1.8–16; *De Op.* 89–128; see also Roscher (1904) and (1919); Betz (1961) 127, n. 3; Burkert (1972) 249, 351, 354–5, 470, 473–4; Collins (1984) 1247–8; 1251–2; 1254–7; 1275–9; Scarcella (1985); Michell (1988); O'Meara (1989).

ἀεροδρομήσαντες: *hapax*, perhaps by analogy with ἀεροβατέω (Aristoph. *Nu.* 225 and 1503, cf. ἀεροβατεῖν in Plat. *Apol.* 19C) and also in Ps.-Luc. *Philopatr.* 12, where it is used of the christian saint Paul. The

adjective ἀεροδρόμος occurs in a Greek magical papyrus held in Paris (K. Preisendanz, ed. *Papyri Graecae Magicae: Die Griechischen Zauberpapyri* [Leipzig-Berlin 1928], P.IV: *Pap. Bibl. Nat. suppl. gr.* 574, p. 118, ll. 1360, 1375); it is used to address "the all-making power of the Bear [constellation]" in a rite which involves the mixing and burning of certain ingredients; see also *schol.* Aesch. *Prom.* 128. The noun αἰθροβάτης is used of Abaris in Porph. *Vit. Pyth.* 29.

καθάπερ νῆσον: for the island in a sea of air, cf. Plat. *Phd.* 109A–B; Ant. Diog. ap. Photius *Bibl.* 110a10; Plut. *De Gen.* 591C. The idea of an island may allude to the Pythagorean *acusma* that the sun and the moon were the Isles of the Blessed (Iambl. *Vit. Pythag.* 18.82; Cumont [1942] 183); cf. Endymion's promise to the narrator of the most happy life in *VH* 1.12. This is a hint that the moon is another resting-place for the souls of the blessed.

λαμπρὰν . . . καὶ φωτὶ μεγάλῳ καταλαμπομένην: "bright and illuminated by great light". Timarchus in Plut. *De Gen.* 590C describes the stars as islands in a sea illuminated (λαμπομένας) by soft fire.

σφαιροειδῆ: cf. Iambulus ap. Diod. 2.55.6: νήσῳ στρογγύλῃ. For belief in a non-spherical moon, cf. Empedocles A 60 [D-K]; Diog. Laert. 8.77.

οἰκουμένην: in *Icar.* 20 the Moon says that some philosophers have claimed that she is inhabited, cf. also 7. For theories of an inhabited moon, see Anaxagoras A 77 [D-K], *Orph. Fr.* 91 [Kern]; Philolaus A 20 [D-K]; Plat. *Tim.* 42D; Plut. *De Is. et Os.* 367C–D; *De Fac.* 937D–940F; Ps.-Plut. *De Plac. phil.* 892A. Guthrie (1962–81) 2.308 notes that the belief in an inhabited moon has "a strongly religious, and specifically Pythagorean, flavour". Aristotle (fr. 192, Rose) said the Pythagoreans thought that Pythagoras was one of the *daimones* on the moon (cf. Iambl. *Vit. Pyth.* 30) and in *Icar.* 13, Menippus mistakes Empedocles for a lunar *daimon.*

In Plut. *De Fac.* 937D–938C, Theon champions the idea of an inhabited moon and is praised by another speaker, Lamprias, for smoothing their brows by the sport of his speech (τῇ παιδιᾷ τοῦ λόγου, 938C). It is as if it provides a relaxation after the serious discussion (cf. the beginning of *VH* in which Lucian promises relaxation for readers of more serious works). Herodorus of Heraclea, *FGrH* 31 F21 (see Athen. 57F) reports that the Moonwomen lay eggs and their offspring are 15 times larger than earthly creatures. Aristotle

(*GA* 761b21) puts the fourth tribe of animals on the moon, since the moon has a share in fire (hence the "fire-animals"); Michael of Ephesus says that Aristotle is talking of beings who do not drink or eat, but are not immortal (see *Commentaria in Aristot. Graec.* vol. 14.3 [Hayduck] p. 160, 16–20).

καὶ ἄλλη . . . εἰκάζομεν: cf. *Icar.* 11–19: Menippus, when he is on the moon, first recognizes major landmarks, such as the colossus of Rhodes, and then makes out smaller details. He can almost see the ants. Also the means by which he can see so far are carefully explained: Empedocles had instructed him to flap the eagle's wing on his right shoulder so that he could see with his right eye like an eagle. In *VH*, however, no justification for their ability to observe the earth is provided.

1.11–21: ENDYMION AND THE WAR BETWEEN THE MOON AND THE SUN

The Moon episode begins with the arrest of the travellers by Moonmen mounted on vultures, who are known as the Horse-vultures (cf. Iambulus ap. Diod. 22.56.1–2). The episode demonstrates the same pattern as that of the Vine-women: loss of control of the ship leads to poetic intoxication whose first manifestation is a hybrid creature. The process is explained in *Herm.* 72, where flying and the invention of extravagant visions are linked with Hippocentaurs, Chimaeras and Gorgons, "which dreams, poets and painters, with their artistic licence, fashion" (cf. *Philops.* 2). In *VH* 2.34 dreams are described as πτερωτοί and τερατώδεις, and are therefore similar in nature to the fantastic forces of the Sun and the Moon. Lucian's hybrids come from the same tradition as the "Goat-stag" (τραγέλαφος), the *exemplum* of the fantastic animal in art (Aristoph. *Ra.* 931; 937; Plat. *Rep.* 488A; Arist. *Poet.* 92b7; *Phys.* 208a30; in Athen. 497F we also find "horse-goat-stags" ἱπποτραγέλαφοι). Also, grotesque hybrids were a typical feature of contemporary astrology and the hybrids in the *VH* may allude to constellations (cf. Boll [1907] 3–5; Reyhl [1969] 42). The association of hybrid creatures and exotic locations is clear from Aristotle's explanation of the saying "Libya is always bringing forth something strange": he reasons that since animals come to the same watering-holes, which are few and far between, the different species intermingle (*De Gen. Anim.* 746b7–13; cf. Romm [1992] 88–92). For

the notion among the philosophers that "everything is mingled" see e.g. Plat. *Tim.* 48A; *Leg.* 906A; Numen. fr. 51 [Des Places]; Plot. *Enn.* 5.8.7 (see Petty [1993] 166–7).

In *Bis Acc.* 33, Dialogue (i.e. philosophical dialogue) longs for his wings and gazes up, without seeing what is on the ground: Dialogue has been made into a hybrid (neither going on foot nor riding on metres: πεζὸς... ἐπὶ τῶν μέτρων βέβηκα) and has had his wings clipped. He would prefer to have his former dignity when he was "treading the air high above the clouds where great Zeus driving his winged car sweeps on" i.e. pondering upon the gods and nature and the cycle of the universe (cf. Plat. *Phdr.* 246C, E; 247B; *Theaet.* 174A; Aristoph. *Nu.* 225: "I tread the air and contemplate the sun" says Socrates). In *Prom. Es* 5, the Hippocentaur is presented as a freak, rather than something charming, and as an example of that kind of blending of two elements which lacks harmony and symmetry. In *Fug.* 10, Philosophy compares the sophist-philosophers to Hippocentaurs, something composed (σύνθετόν τι) and mixed: they are between arrogance and philosophy. They are hybrids, between philosophers and ordinary men (*Fug.* 4). In Plat. *Polit.* 291A–C, the sophists are described as of very mixed race, many are like lions and centaurs and other fierce creatures, and very many are like satyrs and cunning beasts. They are tricksters. They make quick exchanges of forms and qualities with one another. They should be separated from the statesmen.

Thus, the presence of so many hybrids on the Moon and elsewhere in the *VH* is connected with the Hippocentaur, one of Lucian's favourite figures, which is, in turn, a symbol for philosophical hybrids like the ones Philosophy complains about in the *Fug.* In *Eun.* 6, Lycinus reports that Diocles attacks Bagoas the eunuch for being neither man nor woman, but something composite (σύνθετον καὶ μικτὸν καὶ τερατῶδες), alien to human nature. Lucian's view seems to be that true philosophers do not exist any more, hence all the hybrids in the sky. As for the monstrous size of the aerial creatures, Ps.-Plutarch *De Plac. phil.* 892A preserves evidence of the Pythagorean belief that the moon is earth-like but inhabited by bigger creatures (fifteen times larger) and more beautiful plants (cf. also Philolaus the Pythagorean A 20 [D-K]). Lucian is alluding to such Pythagorean ideas (cf. also Stob. 1.26.1; *DG* 361) and perhaps also to the Stoic notion of a certain community between gods, humans and animals everywhere because of the *pneuma* throughout the universe (Sext. Emp. *Adv. Math.* 7.94).

The first part of the Moon trip involves a battle between the Sun

and the Moon. The idea of "star wars" arises in the 2nd cent. BCE and echoes appear in Seneca, *Consol. ad Marc.* 26.4; *Herc. Fur.* 944–52; see Reyhl [1969] 40 n. 1. *Sibylline Prophecy* 5 describes a detailed battle of stars (*Orac. Sibyll.* 5.512; Kurfess [1956] 225–41). Star literature in connection with the *Orac. Sibyll.* is collected by Kugler (1927). Quarrels among the gods are mentioned in *J. Trag.* 39–41, and there were stories floating around in the Roman period about armies in the sky: Pliny *HN* 2.148, for example, describes how in 103 BCE the peoples of Ameria and Tuder saw celestial armies from the east and the west converging for battle, and the western forces being routed. Boll (1914) 104; 145–6 collects parallels between the participants in Lucian's celestial battle and the Locust-centaurs and other creatures in *Apoc.* 9.7–19.

In Plut. *De Stoic. rep.* 1049B, there is a reference to Chrysippus' argument that the gods cause wars just as states which are too populous move the masses off into colonies or begin wars against enemies. He apparently cited Euripides (*Electr.* 1282–3; *Hel.* 38–40; *Orest.* 1639–42) in support of this claim. Plutarch disagrees with the theory, remarking that there is no similarity between colonization and destruction, "unless the Stoics know of cities colonized in Hades" (1049C). Perhaps Lucian is conflating in the war between Endymion and Phaethon over the Morning-Star colony the topics of war and colonization in a parody of this Stoic doctrine.

There are several connections between the combatants in the stellar battle and the philosophers: see Introd. III.3. Philosophers are depicted as combative and equipped with arms in *Par.* 55; in *Icar.* 6, the philosophers' arguments and computations suggest that they "tramped above the moon" and that they "fell to earth from the stars". The word μάχη is used of the disputes among philosophers in *Icar.* 8, where we are reminded that one opined that war was the father of the universe. In *Bis Acc.* 6 philosophers are described as forming military companies and phalanxes and as lined up against each other. In *Par.* 55, the Parasite sees philosophers armed with bows and arrows and staffs (even when they are not in danger). In *Eun.* 2, the philosophers fighting for the chair are from the same sect (the Peripatetics) and when they clashed (ξυμπεσόντες) they scattered (κατεσκέδασαν) loads of abuse among themselves. In *J. Trag.* ὑπερεμάχει (17) is used of the Stoic Timocles supporting the gods against the Epicurean Damis (cf. νίκην and ἀήττητος, in 25 of arguments). Most spectacularly of all, in the *Symposium* a combative dis-

cussion among representatives of various philosophical persuasions ends in fighting and bloodshed. The account given by Lycinus, the alter ego of Lucian, resembles the narrator's description of the battle between the Moonites and the Sunites; for instance, the careful description of the seating arrangements at the banquet (6–7) has its counterpart in the detailed report of the array of military forces in the sky. The quarrel is recounted in military terms, for example "wouldn't keep peace anymore" (οὐκέτι εἰρήνην ἄξων, 16) and "pitch into" (συμπλακῆναι, 30). In 33, Lycinus gives a description of the fight and a dividing-wall (διατείχισμα). He also offers a pointed contrast between the philosophers and the ἰδιῶται: the latter behave better (35). There is a wild, Dionysian scene in 43–5: the philosophers are fighting (ἐμάχοντο συμπλακέντες) and take sides (συνίσταντο οἱ μὲν ὡς τοῦτον, οἱ δ' ὡς ἐκεῖνον), although the Academic Ion is neutral (μέσον ἑαυτὸν ἐφύλαττεν). The combatants are reported to have been hitting each other with birds (συμπεσόντες ἔπαιον ἀλλήλους ταῖς ὄρνισιν). There was a space between two armies (μεταίχμιον). Alcidamas hit everyone who fell in his way (παίων τὸν προστυχόντα). Lycinus compares the spectacle to a battle of Lapiths and Centaurs; blood was flowing and cups were flying (αἷμα ἐκκεχυμένον καὶ σκύφους ῥιπτομένους). Suddenly, there was darkness (46): the lamp was knocked over and it took a while to restore the light. Many dreadful deeds were done in the dark, including molesting a flute-girl and stealing. Darkness brought the end of the quarrel and the episode concluded amid laughter.

This narrative follows the same pattern as the Moon episode in the *VH*: there is fighting, then the Moon is thrown into darkness by the wall of clouds. This causes a rapprochement of the combatants and a peace treaty puts an end, at least temporarily, to the war. There is even a marriage motif in both tales, although Lucian has varied it: in the *VH*, the offer of marriage comes at the end of the battle between competing philosophical arguments, whereas in the *Symposium* the marriage of the host's daughter is the occasion for a gathering of philosophers, which ends up in a brawl. The lesson offered in *Symp.* 48, however—that it is not safe for a man of peace to dine with such learned men—has definite resonances in the narrator's emphatic wish to leave the Moon and return to the sea in the *VH*. The voyagers in Lucian's ship do not stay on the moon after the battle, but continue on their journey. They do not wish to join the others who are going to the colony, even though Endymion

offers them the happiest life possible (1.12). They do not accept his version of εὐδαιμονία. They want to return to the sea (1.21).

Disagreement among philosophers played a great part in the scepticism of the New Academy, according to Tackaberry (1930) 55 n. 355, who cites numerous references from Sextus Empiricus. Numenius in his description of the disputes among the early Academicians and Stoics (*On the Divergence of the Academics from Plato*, frr. 24–8 [Des Places]), portrayed the arguing philosophers as the combatants in an Iliadic battle (see espec. fr. 25; Lamberton (1986) 54–9; Introd. II.2 above). The sky is an equally noisy place in Lucian's picture, a cacophonous inversion of the tradition of the harmony of the spheres. In Heracl. *Hom. All.* 12–13.1, the rays of the sun are interpreted as shafts (βέλη) emitting their own divine sound; in Lucian, these shafts are weapons in the verbal war between the philosophers.

The strange hybrid creatures, then, appear to represent the philosophers and their theories. Lucian utilizes Pythagorean notions of reincarnation to humorous effect in his *Gallus*, where Pythagoras is a cock, having been a horse, a jackdaw, a frog and a thousand other things. A number of birds are mentioned (vultures, sparrows, cranes, nightbird, aircrows), suggesting that the philosophers are, in some way, bird-like (cf. the flying Menippus in *Icar.* and the parade of strange birds in Aristoph. *Av.* 266–304). According to Philochorus (ap. Athen. 393E–F), Boio(s) in his *Ornithogony* claimed that all the birds were once human beings. See further Pollard (1977), espec. 98–103 (fabulous birds); 163–71 (men in bird form); 188–91 (soul birds). In Plat. *Tim.* 91D–E, the tribe of birds is said to have been "formed by transformation, by growing feathers in place of hair, from men who are harmless but light-minded; men who, as students of the heavenly bodies (*meteorologikoi*), suppose in their simplemindedness that the most solid proofs about such matters are those obtained through sight". In *Pseud.* 5, the speech of the mistaken critic on the exclusion of Pythagoras from the Eleusinian mysteries is described as "after the pattern of Aesop's jackdaw, cobbled up out of motley feathers from others". The speech in other words is like a bird. In *Icar.* 3, Menippus is linked with Daedalus and Icarus; when the philosophers fly, they have the chance of either falling (the Icarian model) or making it safely (the Daedalian model).

The allegorical battle in the sky appears to be so far removed from ordinary human existence that it has no effect on it; at two points, however, the narrator makes an oblique suggestion that the

war of the philosophers has a damaging effect on the ordinary human beings who live on the earth below: in 1.17, the blood which is spilled onto the clouds is likened to the rain of blood which Zeus sent upon the earth when Sarpedon was killed. Similarly, in 1.19, the Moon is deprived of the Sun's light by the cloud-barrier, which, may, in addition, cut off light from the earth. In the *VH*, the poisonous effects of the philosophers' arguments on other people are not described in the same direct fashion which Lucian uses in his other works. Instead, he depicts them as frightening and harmful natural phenomena.

The conflict in the sky is "Iliadic" in the sense that the sea-voyage and the journey as a whole is "Odyssean": the catalogue of the opposing forces is reminiscent of the account of the various contingents in the famous "catalogue of ships". The reference to Sarpedon in 1.17 (cf. *Il.* 16.459) is an explicit link between the Lucianic and Homeric battles. There was also a tradition of interpreting the Trojan war as a battle of the souls over terrestrial beauty—represented by Helen—, on which see Buffière (1956) 410–13. This is echoed in the events of Book 2, when the wicked souls break out of their confinement and have to be fought off by the heroes (2.23) and in the episode of Cinyras carrying of Helen (2.25–6). On the philosophical interpretation of the battle of the gods in *Il.* 20.67–73, see Heracl. *Hom. All.* 52–4. He notes in 54.2 that the gods are coupled for the battle according to their philosophical views (τῶν θεῶν ἡ ζεῦξις οὕτω πεφιλοσόφηται τῆς μάχης), and gives the example of Athena and Ares, i.e. ἀφροσύνη and φρόνησις.

1.11

Ἱππόγυποι: "Horse-vultures"; these are Moonmen riding giant three-headed vultures. The word is similar in formation to Ἱπποκένταυροι, but does not suggest a hybrid creature of this type (cf. *Zeux.* 3; Plat. *Phdr.* 229D; Xen. *Cyrop.* 4.3.17–23). A giant kingfisher appears in *VH* 2.40, with chicks "fatter than twenty vultures". The vulture, like the eagle, is associated with Zeus (*J. Conf.* 17; *Prom.* 20). This explains why Menippus uses the wing of an eagle and the wing of a vulture, when he flies to talk to Zeus (*Icar.* 10): see Tackaberry (1930) 40 and n. 264; Anderson (1976a) 29. In *Peregr.* 39–40 Proteus throws himself into a fire and a vulture flies out of the flames up to Olympus, a sequel to the suicide of Peregrinus, his master. Anderson (1976a) 53 notes that the vulture is an ignoble creature in *Merc. Cond.* 33

(where it serves as a metaphor for a depilated boyfriend) and suggests that it might be a parody of Plato's soul ascending like an eagle, indicating that "Peregrinus is a less noble species of philosopher". As for the job of the Horse-vultures, there is a need for guards in case someone plots against Endymion and the Moonmen or interferes with their plans for *eudaimonia* on the colony: we may compare the false philosophers who lock their doors at night (*Par.* 55). There are also guards on the sun (the Nephelocentaurs, cf. 1.28), and at the border of the second abode of the dead, the Isle of the Blessed, in 2.6, where the travellers are again arrested and brought before the local ruler, Rhadamanthus.

Vultures are associated with the Pythagorean counter-earth (see Herodorus *FGrH* 31 F22 [Arist. *HA* 563a7; 615a8–11.13]). The moon as the counter-earth is called αἰθερία γῆ in Porph. ap. Procl. *In Plat. Tim.* [32b] 1.147 (cf. Plut. *De Fac.* 944C). Lucian also parodies the notion of a counter-earth in *VH* 2.47, where the travellers reach "the continent opposite the one we inhabit" (ἤπειρον ... τὴν ἀντιπέρας). Aristotle *De Mundo* 392b23–25, speculates on the probability of the existence of other worlds on the opposite side of the intervening seas; see also *Meteor.* 362b28; Str. 1.4.6; Romm (1992) 129–140.

τρικέφαλοι: having three heads is appropriate for creatures whose function is to guard something. This recalls the guardian of the Underworld, Cerberus, the three-headed dog (Cic. *Tusc.* 1.10; Verg. *Aen.* 6.417; Ov. *Met.* 4.450–1), as well as Hecate (whose hounds are pictured as larger than Indian elephants in *Philops.* 24). The travellers are now entering a realm of the dead. In 2.31 there is no Cerberus at the entrance to the place of punishment on the Isle of the Wicked, only Timon of Athens as a warden. According to Heracl. *Hom. All.* 33.9–10, Cerberus represents philosophy with its three parts, all arising from the same trunk: logical, physical and ethical.

Theopompus is described by Lucian as a "Cerberus in words" because of his work entitled Τρικάρανος (Three-headed), which was an attack on Athens, Sparta and Thebes (*Pseud.* 29; *Fug.* 32). This work, however, may have been written by Anaximenes of Lampsacus (see Shrimpton [1991] 12–13). Pausanias 6.18.2 says that Anaximenes wrote a derisive pamphlet which was a most accurate imitation of Theopompus; he put the historian's name on it and circulated it, so that hatred arose against Theopompus throughout Greece. The encounter with the three-headed vultures is reminiscent of Socrates'

encounter with the two sophists, when he compared himself to Heracles in his encounter with the Hydra (*Euthyd.* 297C). On Lucian's use of the three-headed motif elsewhere (e.g. *Herm.* 74; *Tox.* 53), see Anderson (1976a) 2.

τὸ μέγεθος . . . φέρουσι: a simile which recalls the comparison of the Cyclops' staff to the mast of a cargoship in *Od.* 9.322–3. In *VH* 1.18 the horse part of the Nephelocentaurs is said to be as big as a cargoship. Ctesias made a similar comparison of the height of the Indian *calamus* to a mast (Phot. *Bibl.* 45b26); In *Icar.* 1 and 6, Menippus ridicules philosophers for their exact measurements of distances between bodies in the sky when they do not even know the distance from Athens to Megara.

περιπετομένοις: on the various methods of human flight among the Greeks and other ancient cultures, see Cumont (1949) 282–302. Riding on a creature with wings, as here, is the means of flight in the stories of Pegasus (Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.3.2) and the ram of Phrixus and Helle (*ib.* 1.9.1), as well as in Aristophanes' *Pax* and in Aesop 3 [Perry]. The most famous example of the use of wings like a bird—the method of Menippus in *Icar.* 10—is the myth of Daedalus and Icarus (Apollod. *Epit.* 1.12–13). Wings were culturally connected with language and speech, through Homer's designation of them as "winged" (πτερόεντα); see Heracl. *Hom. All.* 67.5–7. Abaris flew to the sky on an arrow (ὀϊστός), according to Hdt. 4.36; Orig. *Contr. Cels.* 3.31; Porph. *Vit. Pyth.* 19.91.

ἀπὸ τῆς στολῆς εἰκάσας: the travellers are arrested and brought before the king, who turns out to be a fellow human-being. This recognition scene echoes that in which Menippus is accosted by Empedocles (*Icar.* 13), who turns out to be not—as Menippus supposes—a Moon *daimon*, but a fellow-philosopher. The king recognizes the sailors as Greeks from their clothes (cf. Aesch. *Suppl.* 234–6; Soph. *Phil.* 223–4; Eur. *Heraclid.* 130–1) and tells them not to be afraid, just as Empedocles greets the startled Menippus and tells him to take courage. Endymion's conversation with the narrator resembles that of Zeus with Menippus in *Icar.* 23–4. On the motif of meeting a stranger in Lucian, see Anderson (1976a) 109–12.

Ἐνδυμίων: cf. *Musc.* 10, *De Sacrif.* 7, *Deor. Conc.* 8, *D.Deor.* 19(11).1, where Lucian's main interest seems to be Endymion's love-affair with

Selene. In *Astr.* 18, Endymion is the original expert on lunar matters. In Aristoph. *Av.* 92, Peisetairos first meets (92) Tereus, who is now a bird, but was formerly king of Thrace. Endymion is a man who used to live on the earth but is now king of the Moonites. In each case, the figure first encountered provides a link between the human and heavenly realms. The presence of Endymion on the Moon and his major role in the episode (contrast Phaethon who is marginal by comparison), is connected with his role in lunar eschatology. The story of Endymion, who was loved by the Moon while asleep in the Cave of Latmos in Caria symbolizes the soul's desire to rise to the Moon. The long sleep of Endymion on Latmos is, according to Préaux (1973) 153–5, a passing death which allows the soul to be reborn to a new life (cf. the month-long sleep of the voyagers on the Isle of Dreams in *VH* 2.34–5). In Plut. *De Fac.* 945B Endymion's soul is asleep on the moon. Those souls which are enamoured of the body have memories of life for their dreams, just as Endymion's did (cf. in *VH* 2.34 the voyagers see their friends and families in their dreams): such souls are pushed to look for a new incarnation and are eventually received by the moon (Cumont [1942] 249, 251). Ultimately, Endymion, through the notion of life as a sleep (Plat. *Rep.* 534C–D; Phil. *De Ios.* 23.125–30; Plotin. *Enn.* 3.6.6, 65–77), becomes a guarantor of resurrection: see Préaux (1973) 153–4. On Endymion in general, see RL vol. 1.1246–8; Cumont (1942) 246–52; Préaux (1973) 151–5.

1.12

τοὺς τὸν ἥλιον κατοικοῦντας: according to Lactantius (*Div. Inst.* 3.23.14), Seneca wrote that there was one among the Stoics who discussed whether or not the sun was inhabited. In *Nav.* 44, Timolaus includes the investigation of the nature of the sun as one of his wishes. In *Icar.* 20, the Moon complains that some philosophers were not satisfied with saying that the Sun was merely a stone and a red hot mass (cf. Anaxagoras ap. Diog. Laert. 2.8, cf. 8.15); perhaps these philosophers were the ones who suggested that the Sun was inhabited like the Moon. For the Heliopolis of Aristonicus and the Islands of the Sun in Iambulus, see Introd. III.2. In the latter it is said that the inhabitants (the People of the Sun) give attention to every branch of learning, especially astrology (Diod. 2.57.3). On solar symbolism in lyric and tragedy, see Clavier (1972); on solar theology, see Cumont (1913).

Φαέθων: cf. *Astrol.* 19, *D.Deor.* 24.1, *Tim.* 4. On the story of Phaethon, see Ovid, *Met.* 2.1–400; Diggle (1970) 3–32. The city of the Blessed in 2.11 appears to have some solar connections, see nn. ad loc. below.

τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς διαφορᾶς: Endymion gives the reason for the hostility between the Sun and the Moon; the explanation of the causes of wars is a necessary part of good historiography, such as that practised by Thucydides (cf. *Symp.* 1, where Lycinus emphasizes that a clear account of the quarrel among the philosophers depends upon knowledge of the causes which led up to it). In *Icar.* 20, the Moon complains that the philosophers have stirred up disputes between herself and the Sun. The main reason for their quarrel seems to have been the idea that the Moon's light was stolen from the Sun, her brother: see Thales A 17b [D-K]; Anaxagoras B 18 [D-K]; Parmenides B 14 [D-K]; Empedocles B 45 [D-K]; cf. Ps.-Plut. *De Plac. phil.* 891D, *Adv. Colot.* 1116A and *De Fac.* 929A–B, D–E; Diog. Laert. 8.27; see Guthrie (1962–81) 2.197–8, 2.306.

In *Astr.* 3, the Ethiopians are said to have discovered that the light of the moon comes from the sun. For the idea that the Moon has her own light, cf. Anaximander and Antiphon in Ps.-Plut. *De Plac. phil.* 891D; Cleomedes (an astronomer inspired by Posidonius). In *Icar.* 21, the Moon says that she cannot remain in her place unless Zeus destroys the philosophers, and at the end of the book (33), Zeus agrees to do this. For a similarly querulous Moon, cf. Aristoph. *Nu.* 607–26, where she tells the Clouds how she is annoyed because she has been shamefully treated by the Athenians and their allies. The *Icar.* seems to anticipate the *VH* with its battle between the philosophers.

τοὺς ἀπορωτάτους . . . ἀποικίαν: a realistic detail: it was customary to send out poor citizens to found a colony; colonies were also causes of wars (cf. the Corcyra episode in Thuc. 1.24–55). The Homeric Scheria in *Od.* 6–7, on the other hand, is an idealized colony (Jeffrey [1976] 51).

ἁπάντων εὐδαιμονέστατα . . . καταβιώσεσθε: cf. Iambulus ap. Diod. 2.55.4. The promise of future happiness held out by the Stoics is mocked in *Herm.* 76. That colonization was associated with εὐδαιμονία is suggested here, and also in 1.21, where Endymion wishes the narrator to stay and take part (κοινωνεῖν) in the founding of the colony. In *De Luct.* 7 Minos and Rhadamanthus send the good spirits

"just as if to a colony" to the Elysian field to live "the best life". It was no doubt traditional to encourage colonizers to believe that they would have a better life in their new abode; see also note on islands in *VH* 1.10. On the meaning of εὐδαιμονία in philosophical terms, see Urmson (1990) 63; Long (1996) 179–201, espec. 181–3. For the Moon as the resting-place of the Blessed souls, see Introd. II.3.

In *Nav.* 44, Timolaus says that for him the highest bliss would be to fly invisible to all parts of the inhabited and the uninhabited world, and also to know the nature of the stars, the moon and the sun. The narrator's strong desire not to stay with Endymion (1.21) despite the latter's promise of the most happy life, seems to be motivated among other reasons by a similar enthusiasm for travelling and acquiring knowledge of other peoples and places. Timolaus is, however, ridiculed by the Sceptic Lycinus, who predicts that he will have the fate of Icarus (*Nav.* 45–6). On Lucian's attitude to Scepticism, see B. Schwartz (1914); Tackaberry (1930) 51–8.

Ἑωσφόρον: this is Aphrodite's star (Eudox. *Ars Astr.* F. 124 [Laserre] 71.16; cf. 72.7; RL vol. 3.2519, 2521), equated with Hesperus by Hesiod *Th.* 381; Sappho 104 [L-P]; Ibycus 331 [*PMG*]; Pind. *I.* 4.26; Manil. 1.178. Aphrodite and Selene are associated in *D.Deor.* 19, where they discuss the Moon's passion for Endymion. Thus it is appropriate that a colony should be established on the Morning-Star by the inhabitants of the Moon. On general connections between the Moon and love-affairs, see *Icar.* 15 and 21. In Plut. *Amat.* 766B the true lover goes off to the meadows of the Moon and Aphrodite before returning to another existence in this world. The Moon is the place where mortal and immortal are blended: the Moon is nothing without the Sun, as Aphrodite is nothing without Eros. There is a strong resemblance between Aphrodite and the Moon (764D; Préaux [1973] 154–5).

One reason why Aphrodite might be an ally of the Moon against the Sun is the fact that Helios was the one who exposed her affair with Ares (cf. *Gall.* 3; *Salt.* 63). The giant web which stretches from the Morning-star to the Moon, functioning as the battle-field for the opposing forces (1.15), is perhaps a reminiscence of the net which Hephaestus fashions to entrap Aphrodite and Ares (*Od.* 8.274–81): in 8.280, it is said to be "like fine spiders' webs". The morning-star is a suitable source of dispute between the Moon and the Sun, because it is visible at dawn, the time when the night gives way to the day. Pliny describes the Morning star as *aemulum solis ac lunae*

and as another Sun, when it brings the dawn, and a deputy of the Moon, when it prolongs the daylight (*HN* 2.36–7).

Ἱππομυρμήκων: "Horse-ants"; in Aristotle *HA* 8.28.2 the word refers to giant ants with wings; cf. Hdt. 3.102–5; Pliny *HN* 11.111; Megasthenes ap. Strabo 15.1.44; Ps-Callisth. *Alex. Rom.* 2.31. For ancient knowledge of the ant, see Davies and Kathirithamby (1986) 37–46. Phaethon's troops are riding the Horse-ants like cavalry. The presence of ants and other insects in the account of the battle between the Sun and the Moon may derive from the idea that people look like ants when viewed from a great height: this is the subject of an extended comparison in *Icar.* 19. In *Herm.* 5, the comparison of human beings to ants is made by the Stoic Hermotimus. Also, there was a theory that some insects are born from the dew which falls on foliage (Arist. *HA* 5.19. 551a1–2). Dew is a substance which is mentioned twice in the account of the Moon in the *VH* (1.20; 23; see nn. below).

ἀντίπαλοι τῇ παρασκευῇ: common in Thucydides, cf. 1.11.1; 1.91.7; 2.45.1. Isocrates (*Pan.* 4.13) uses παρασκευή as a rhetorical term, for a speaker preparing his oration. It is also classified as a rhetorical term by Dionysius of Halicarnassus in his *Isaeus*, 15.19–20; cf. also *Rhet.* 10.13, where the "preparation" of the auditor before the *agon* is an essential preliminary to a speech. In *Pisc.* 23 the term means that argumentative and forensic equipment is needed.

The rhetorical nuance of the word in our context may be inferred from the dissenting opinions and disputes of the philosophers about the moon and the sun, which are described in military terms (μάχη) in *Icar.* 8. The philosophers are represented as opponents battling to prevail in the debate over the nature of the celestial bodies. The travellers are convinced by Endymion, whose story is an argument designed to win their support for his cause; likewise each philosopher tries to win Menippus over to his own doctrine (*Icar.* 5). Endymion is a persuader. Both Endymion and Phaethon, like the philosophers, are searching for allies, hence the frequent references to allied forces—both present and absent—in the narrator's account of the battle.

γῦπας τῶν βασιλικῶν: cf. Zeus' royal eagle in *Icar.* 14.

1.13

What follows is a detailed and specific account of the opposing forces, the manoeuvers of the battle, and the peace-treaty. Anderson (1976a)

37–8 notes similar elements in *Tox.* 39–41, the Sauromatai's attack on the Scythians, their temporary victory, and their eventual flight; cf. also *Nav.* 33–8. Similar exactitude is displayed by Lycinus as he recounts the events which took place at Aristaenetus' banquet (*Symp.* 1–2): a thorough report is requested by Philo, who wants enjoyable and peaceful entertainment, bloodless and out of the range of the shaft (ἡδίστην . . . ἑστίασιν . . . ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ ἀναιμωτὶ ἔξω βέλους). In *Herm.* 19–20, Lycinus argues that philosophers are judged by words and actions, not by appearances; this indicates that the hybrids in the *VH* work on various levels: they are not to be evaluated primarily by external appearance, but by what they represent.

ἄνευ τῶν σκευοφόρων . . . συμμάχων: the composition of those military forces which accompany the 100,000 is presented in a realistic manner which makes them seem analogous to those in the human world.

οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν Λαχανοπτέρων: the "Vegetable-wings"; this type of bird is different from the Horse-vultures and the Horse-ants in that they bear no similarity to any earthly creature. According to Athenaeus 369E, Eudemus the Peripatetic wrote a treatise Περὶ λαχάνων, while Diogenes Laertius records that Pythagoras ate these vegetables (8.19); cf. Porphyry (*Vit. Pyth.* 34), who also says he ate millet-bread (cf. also the Millet-throwers below).

ὠκύπτερα: the long quill-feathers in a wing (*Il.* 13.62; Aristoph. *Av.* 803; *Icar.* 10); used metaphorically of ships in Aesch. *Suppl.* 734.

θριδακίνης: lettuce, cf. *Lex.* 3 (a kind of lettuce-cake); *Pod.* 151.

οἱ Κεγχροβόλοι: "Millet-throwers"; Ollier (1962) 20 suggests that the humour lies in the smallness of the grain (ὁ κέγχρος) used as a weapon. In Menippus' observation of the earth from the moon, the whole of Mount Pangaion is the size of a grain of millet (*Icar.* 18). Other edible weapons are mentioned later (garlic and radishes as missiles, and asparagus-stalks as spears). Philosophical schools are compared to different varieties of cereal in *Herm.* 61. According to Pliny *HN* 37.57, *cenchros* was the name of a very hard stone of the *adamas* family (perhaps a small diamond), which was the size of a millet seed (cf. Athen. 525D, small beads). He also mentions the *cenchrites*, a stone which looks as if it has been sprinkled with millet seeds (*ib.* 188). Pliny (*HN* 11.112) says that the dew settles on a radish leaf, is condensed by the sun, and shrinks to the size of a millet seed; both radishes (1.16)

and millet are missiles used by the warring armies of Phaethon and Endymion. Part of the humour may also lie in an allusion to one of the "logical puzzles" which Zeno of Elea concocted, the "Millet Seed" (A 29 [D-K]; Lee [1936] 37–8). This dealt with infinitesimals; see further, Arist. *Phys.* 250a19; Lee (1936) 110; Guthrie (1962–81) 2.81; 97; on the ridiculing of Stoic paradoxes in general, see Sigsbee (1968).

τετάχατο: Ionic form for τεταγμένοι ἦσαν, used perhaps in imitation of Thucydides (5.6.5).

Σκοροδομάχοι: "Garlic-fighters"; possibly an allusion to the eristic attitude of philosophers: cocks were primed with garlic to increase their bellicosity (Aristoph. *Eq.* 494, 946; *Ach.* 166); cf. *Pax* 502, *Lys.* 690; also Diosc. 2.122; *schol.* Aristoph. *Pl.* 718. On cocks and garlic, see Csapo (1993b) 115–20. On the curative powers of garlic, see Diosc. 2.152.

τῆς ἄρκτου: the Great Bear is an appropriate ally for the Moon. In addition to the fact that both are female, there is a connection through Artemis: ἄρκτος is used for a girl ("she-bear") in the service of Artemis Brauronia and Artemis is also, of course, goddess of the moon.

Ψυλλοτοξόται: "Flea-archers", i.e. archers riding on fleas, a word formed by analogy with Ἱπποτοξότης (cf. *Tox.* 54). In Aristoph. *Nu.* 144–52 and 831, the flea is associated with abstruse philosophical speculation when Socrates is depicted measuring the length of its jump (cf. *schol.* 145 [Rutherford, vol. 1, 142]). In *Prom. Es* 6, the friends of "Dialogue" (i.e. Philosophy) are mocked by Comedy as "walking on air", "mixing with the clouds" and "measuring the jumps of fleas". Lucian could also be alluding to the Libyan tribe of the Psylli, whose distinctive feature was that they were unharmed by the bites of insects and snakes, cf. Agatharch. ap. Ael. *NA* 16.27–28; Antig. 16b (*PG* p. 40).

μέγεθος . . . ἐλέφαντες: this is an inversion of the natural order: instead of a tiny flea on a large elephant, we have fleas as big as twelve elephants. Also, elephants were used in battle: Livy 27.48.5.

Ἀνεμοδρόμοι: "Wind-runners"; wind and lies are associated elsewhere by Lucian: λόγον ψευδέα καὶ ἀνεμώλιον (*Astr.* 2); cf. Hom. *Il.* 4.355; *Od.* 11.464; ἀνεμῶναι λόγων "wind-flowers of speech", signifying emptiness

(*Lexiph.* 23). The word recalls the ἀεροδρομήσαντες in 1.10: their long tunics are swollen by the wind just like the sails of the narrator's ship (1.9). Dialogue's companions are ἀεροβατοῦντες in *Prom Es* 6; for another coinage of the same variety, cf. φαλλοβατέων in *Dea Syr.* 29.

ὁ δὲ τρόπος . . . σκάφῃ: cf. the ostriches which use their wings like sails while running in Xen. *Anab.* 1.5.3. This is another connection between ships and flying.

Καππαδοκίαν: famous for its horses: Oppian, *Cyneg.* 1.171; Veget. *Ars Vet.* 3.6.4: *curribus Cappadocum gloriosa nobilitas.*

Στρουθοβάλανοι: "Ostrich-acorns" or "Sparrow-acorns". The coinage recalls the Struthopodes people in India, Pliny *HN* 7.24 [Eudoxus fr. 340 (Lasserre)]. The word βάλανος has a double meaning: acorn or *glans penis* (Aristoph. *Lys.* 410–13; Arist. *HA* 493a27; Galen 10.381; cf. Lucr. 5.965); see also *VH* 1.22 and n. ad loc.; βάλανοι are the fruit of the phallus tree from which the Treemen are hatched (see n. on 1.22 below). Henderson (1991) 41 notes that the βάλανος is "the Greek version of an almost universal symbol", namely the penis. On acorns and their significance, see Levine (1988–9).

The sparrow too has erotic connections (Sappho fr. 1.10 [L-P]) and is said to be salacious (Pliny *HN* 10.107); see Henderson (1991) 128–9. It too is a phallic symbol in Catullus' *passer* poems. In *Dips.* 2, Lucian uses στροῦθος μέγας of an ostrich (cf. 6), but in *Fug.* 19, the name Strouthias seems connected with the greediness of the sparrow. By analogy with the *Kunobalanoi* in 1.16 ("dog-faced men fighting on flying *balanoi*"), the Ostrich/Sparrow-acorns ought to be "ostrich/sparrow-faced men fighting on flying βάλανοι"). Pliny discusses various varieties of acorns in *HN* 16.15–27.

Ἱππογέρανοι: "Horse-cranes", i.e. men riding on cranes. According to a story preserved by Athenaeus 393E–F, a certain woman Gerana was metamorphosed into a crane and is described as a bird of ugly form. The crane is a militaristic bird: the battle between the cranes and the pygmies of Africa appears in several writers (Homer *Il.* 3.3–6; Pliny *HN* 6.70; 7.26–7; Str. 2.19); see further, Scobie (1975). According to Aristotle *HA* 9.614b, they are intelligent, fly high, and have a leader and signallers, and the leader acts as look-out when the others are resting (cf. Pliny *HN* 10.58–9).

τούτους ... ἐλέγετο: an expression of restraint (for fear of being disbelieved) reminiscent of Thucydides 3.113; 5.68; Hdt. 1.193. Even the inventive Ctesias used it. The same device appears in 1.18 and 25, see Stengel (1911) 23–4. The affectation of restraint, of course, only serves to make the unbelievable seem more believable.

1.14

κράνη ... κυάμων: probably an allusion to Pythagoras, whose connection with beans is often parodied in Lucian (*Gall.* 4; *D.Mort.* 20.3; *Vit. Auct.* 6). In *VH* 2.24, beans are eaten in celebration after the battle by all except Pythagoras (see n. ad loc.). The Pythagorean connection might also explain the vegetable motif running through the description of the forces of Endymion and Phaethon.

θώρακες ... θέρμινοι: cf. 1.27; *Batrachomyomachia*, 127–8; Xenophon, *Anab.* 1.8.9. In *Vit. Auct.* 9, Diogenes says that the man who follows his philosophy will have a wallet full of lupines and in *Pisc.* 45, Philosophy remarks that the bag which the Cynic leaves behind might be full of lupines. In *Merc. Cond.* 24, lupines and water are mentioned in contrast to a luxurious diet (cf. *Fug.* 20; 31). Other instances of connections with the Cynics include *D.Mort.* 1.1; 2; 21. 22.3; *Catapl.* 7; Diog. Laert. 6.25. In *VH* 2.28 Rhadamanthus, in a parody of Pythagorean prohibitions, tells the Narrator not to stir the fire with a sword-blade and not to eat lupines nor to make love to anyone over 18. A biblical parallel is noted by Reyhl (1969) 41: *Apoc.* 9.17, θώρακας πυρίνους καὶ ὑακινθίνους καὶ θειώδεις, but see also Anderson's reservations in (1976c) 3.

θώρακες ... ὥσπερ κέρας: the scales of the lupines on the moon are as hard as horn. In *Herm.* 81, the sceptic Lycinus makes fun of a young man who uses Stoic arguments by saying that he "makes us grow horns". There was a Stoic "fallacy" known as "the Horns" (*Herm.* 81; *Symp.* 23). In her discussion of the significance of horn in the Gate of Horn through which the dreams which accomplish things pass, Amory (1966) 51–2 notes that, in the *Odyssey* at least, horn is associated with truth—although rather indirectly and paradoxically—and with the eyes.

ἀσπίδες ... Ἑλληνικά: cf. the armour of the Stalk-mushrooms in Phaethon's army (1.16): mushrooms as shields and asparagus-stalks as spears. Since it is the infantry which brings about Endymion's

victory (see 1.17), we may assume that the Greek shields and swords proved superior to their vegetable equivalents.

1.15

Various parallels have been noted for the description of the opposing forces: Xen. *Anab.* 1.8.4–9 (Stengel [1911] 24–5); *Cyrop.* 7.1 (Jerram [1879] 55); Thuc. 4.93.4 (Ollier [1962] 21). The archetype is the Catalogue of the Greek Ships in *Il.* 2.484–760 and the shorter sketch of the Trojan forces in 816–77. Lucian devotes roughly the same space to each side. In *Hist.* 41, Lucian remarks that the historian should be an impartial judge and should not give one side more than its due. He should also be a stranger (cf. *VH* 1.11, 33, 34) in his books, a man without a polis, cf. G-L (1994) 1461–2. In this case, impartiality is more easily achieved, since the narrator and his friends were recruited by Endymion. The scene is also reminiscent of the parade of dreams in *VH* 2.34.

τοὺς ἀρίστους: these may correspond to élite groups of soldiers often used in Greek warfare; see Pritchett (1974) 221–5. Perhaps the best troops were mounted on the royal vultures mentioned in 1.12. The narrator says that he and his companions were positioned among the best, and he mentioned earlier that they were given royal vultures (1.12).

Battle-formation of the two armies

LUNAR FORCES

Λαχανόπτεροι (20,000)	Κεγχροβόλοι Σκοροδομάχοι Ψυλλοτοξόται (30,000) Ἀνεμοδρόμοι (50,000) Total Infantry: 60,000,000	Ἱππόγυποι (Ἐνδυμίων) (80,000) (and the narrator and his companions)

SOLAR FORCES

Ἀεροκώνωπες (50,000)	Ἀεροκόρδακες Καυλομύκητες (10,000) Κυνοβάλανοι (5,000)	Ἱππομύρμηκες (Φαέθων) (50,000)

ἀράχναι . . . πεδίον ἐποίησαν: the spiders are commissioned by Endymion to weave a battlefield (cf. 1.18). The giant cobweb is a detail motivated by the enormous size of Endymion's infantry; see further, Bompaire (1958) 665; Anderson (1976a) 26–7. The spider-web battlefield may represent the philosophical arguing ground: it is woven by one side and then overrun by the other. It could also be a comment on the staleness of the philosophical battleground; cf. *Bis Acc.* 3, where spiders' webs are mentioned in connection with old trite lawsuits. In *Pseud.* 24, the spider's web is associated with the old-fashioned and abstruse words used by a sophist. The ground on which the philosophers are fighting—i.e. arguing their doctrines—is as insubstantial as a cobweb and only tenuously connected with the truth. On weaving as an allegory of the pursuit of philosophy, with reference to Penelope, see Helleman (1995) 293–4, cf. Eust. ad *Od.* 1390.5–7 and 1437.19–28: the loom on which she weaves is "the philosophical combination of propositions" (τὴν φιλόσοφον τῶν προτάσεων ἐπισύνθεσιν).

The spider's web could also be an allusion to the spindle of Necessity in Plato's *Rep.* 616C or a parody of the spinning of the Fates (cf. *Char.* 16; *J. Conf.* 1–2). The web also recalls the bonds which Hephaestus made to entrap Ares and Aphrodite, a scene which Lucian describes in *D.Deor.* 21[17].1 and *Somn.* 3. In *Od.* 8.280 these bonds are described as ἠΰτ' ἀράχνια λεπτά. Cobwebs are associated with the vengeance of the warrior goddess Athena in the myth of Arachne (Ov. *Met.* 6.1–145): the rope with which Arachne attempts to hang herself is changed into a cobweb on which she escapes. Thus the material is connected with both death and survival; in the battle on the Cobweb Plain, some combatants die, while others live on. We may compare the cobweb chains with which the narrator and his companions are bound in 1.18 below.

A spider's web was sometimes associated with peaceful conditions; in Plut. *Num.* 20.6, weapons with cobwebs indicate the absence of war; cf. also *Nic.* 9.7, the first line from a famous lyric in Euripides' *Erechtheus* [Nauck, fr. 369, Nauck Austin, *Nova Frag. Eur.* (1968) no. 60]. In the *VH* the spider's web is a prerequisite for the battle, a concept which inverts these associations.

τῶν Κυκλάδων νήσων: just as the Greeks joined stars to make constellations in the sky depicting mythological figures, so the complex of the Cyclades could be seen as a spider or a spider's web from

the viewpoint of an observer in the sky; cf. the allusions to the Aeolian islands in 1.40 and 2.4.

Νυκτερίων ὁ Εὐδιάνακτος: "Nocturnal" (Reardon [1989] p. 625 translates "Bat"), "the son of the Ruler of Tranquillity". In Aristoph. *Av.* 1296, Chaerophon is given the name νυκτερίς (bat); he was an associate of Socrates (cf. *Nu.* 104, 144–64, 830–1, 1465–7) and he was the person who asked the Delphic oracle if there was anyone wiser than Socrates (Plat. *Apol.* 21A). Dunbar (1995) 642 comments that "his nickname 'the Bat' is explained by his sallow, unhealthy-looking complexion, attributed to his unhealthy indoor life of study with Socrates". In *Av.* 1564, the *psyche* of Chairephon the Bat appears. In Plut. *De Fac.* 941C, in Sulla's myth, one of the names for the star of Cronus is Νυκτοῦρος.

1.16

τοῖς κέρασιν: with their antennae (which looked like horns); the more precise term would be κεραία, but the use of κέρας has military overtones.

οἱ Ἀεροκώνωπες . . . ἐποχούμενοι: "Sky-gnats" or "Sky-mosquitoes". They are all archers riding on big gnats, stationed against the Vegetable-wings of Endymion's army. The κώνωψ is connected with abstruse philosophical enquiry (on the model of measuring the jump of the flea in Aristoph. *Nu.* 148–53) in *Vit. Auct.* 26, where a Peripatetic is said to know how long a gnat lives. Herodotus (2.95) records that the Egyptians try to escape these insects at night by sleeping in towers. Archers and gnats/mosquitoes are perhaps a natural combination, since arrows—often used in a metaphorical sense by Lucian—pierce like the bite of the insect. In *Heracl.* 6, Heracles' arrows represent words. For a similar metaphorical usage, cf. Plat. *Symp.* 219B. In Heracl. *Hom. All.* 34.3, Heracles launches his arrows to the sky as the philosopher launches his *nous*. In *Nigr.* 37, there is an extended association of words and arrows: being "wounded" by an arrow enables the "drug of philosophy" to spread throughout the body. In *Pisc.* 7 the arrows of Frankness are used against the philosophers: τὰ τοξεύματα ἐτόξευες. In Achilles Tatius 2.20, Κώνωψ is the name of a slave, who is a busybody and a prattler, and when Satyrus calls him the "gnat", Konops tells a fable (21), in which even the elephant is afraid of the tiny insect; Satyrus responds, however, with a fable in which the gnat gets caught in a spider's web (22).

Ἀεροκόρδακες: "Sky-dancers"; perhaps to be connected with Dionysus and comedy (*Salt.* 22, 26; Aristoph. *Nu.* 940). In *Icar.* 27, Menippus is entertained in the heavens by Silenus, who dances the *kordax*, to the accompaniment of Apollo on the lyre. The *kordax* is also mentioned in *Dion.* 1, where one of the contingents of Dionysus' army is a group of youths dancing the *kordax* without any clothes on. In Theophr. *Char.* 6.3, doing this dance when not drunk or in a chorus is the product of *aponoia.*

The Sky-dancers sling radishes from long range and are the equivalent of the Millet-throwers (and perhaps the Garlic-fighters) in the opposing army. In Aristophanes both the Birds and the Clouds use slings (*Av.* 1185–7; *Nu.* 1125). In *J. Trag.* 33, the philosophers sling abuse at each other from long range.

ψιλοί τε . . . πεζοί: both terms have a rhetorical force; λόγοι ψιλοί means mere speech which is not supported by evidence or proofs (cf. Plat. *Phdr.* 262C; *Leg.* 811E; see also Dem. 27.54). The word πεζός is used of prose (cf. Luc. *Hist.* 8, 16; D. Hal. *Comp.* 6).

ῥαφανῖδας ὑπερμεγέθεις . . . ἐγγινομένης: ῥαφανῖδες are radishes: in Aristophanes *Nu.* 1083, a radish thrust up the backside is a punishment for adultery in Athens; cf. Luc. *Peregr.* 9; Branham (1991). The weapon of the radishes and the foul-smelling wounds they cause may parallel the use of garlic by the Garlic-Fighters in Endymion's army. The foul-smelling wound has been seen as an allusion to Philoctetes in Sophocles' play (Ollier [1962] 23). Pliny *HN* 19.79 records that radishes produce flatulence and belches. Like the cabbage (see n. on 1.23 below), they have an antipathy towards vines (19.87) and Theophrastus *CP* 2.18.4 elaborates on this: the vine is injured by the smell of bay and radish, and when the vine is near either one, its shoot turns back because of the sharpness of the smell. Elsewhere he says that some plants do not kill, but cause deterioration by the powers of their flavours and smells, as radish and bay do to the vine—hence Androcydes said that the radish was a good antidote to wine (*HP* 4.16.6). At the same time, the radish seems to have been highly rated as a medicinal remedy and as an antidote to poisons (Pliny *HN* 19.86–7; 20.25 Diosc. 2.112.1–2). Moschion wrote a whole book about them (Pliny *HN* 19.87).

μαλάχης ἰῷ: "with the poison of mallow"; the mallow is highly regarded as a healing plant (Pliny *HN* 20.222–30; Diosc. 2.118; 3.146; Athen.

58E) and is used in cooking (Luc. *Alex.* 25; *Merc. Cond.* 26). Sometimes it was used for making walking-sticks (Theophr. *HP* 1.3.2; Pliny *HN* 19.62) and in *VH* 2.26, Cinyras is whipped with mallow as part of his punishment (cf. *Ind.* 3; *Fug.* 33). See also *VH* 2.28, where Rhadamanthus gives the narrator a mallow root and tells him to invoke it in times of greatest danger (cf. 2.46). Tackaberry (1930) 55 n. 354 notes that "poison is often used as an illustration in Sceptical writings" and cites Sextus Empiricus' discussion of the seventh trope. Cf. *Herm.* 62: Lycinus says that poisons, if taken in the right quantity, in the right manner and the proper mixture, are harmless and do not have their full effect (he is comparing poison to philosophy in this particular passage).

Καυλομύκητες: "Stalk-mushrooms"; both elements of this word have sexual connotations: καυλός means penis (Diod. 32.11, Gal. *De Usu Part.* 14.12 [Helmreich]), and so does μύκης (Archil. fr. 47 [Edmonds]; cf. Hdn. 2.679.5; Hesych. s.v.), but the former refers to the whole length, the latter specifically to the bulbous part at the end. In Aristoph. *Ach.* 252, μύκης means "hard-on" (Henderson [1991] 20) and in *Eq.* 824 the word is also sexually suggestive.

μυκητίναις . . . καυλίνοις: two instances of *hapax*.

Κυνοβάλανοι: "Dog-acorns" (cf. n. on Στρουθοβάλανοι, 1.13); these are the equivalent of the Flea-archers and the Wind-runners who come to join Endymion from the Great Bear.

οἱ τὸν Σείριον . . . κυνοπρόσωποι: with the "dog-faced men" compare the Ox-heads in *VH* 2.44. The Dog Star is an appropriate ally for the Sun, since it is associated with summer heat. Manilius comments as follows on Sirius: "no star rises more violently or causes more trouble when leaving"; it stirs up war and restores peace; and it is hardly less bright than the sun, except that it dwells far away (1.396–411). The fact that Sirius is the "Dog Star" makes it a suitable home of the dog-faced men. Boll (1907) 3–4 connects Lucian's dog-faced men and Κυνοβάλανοι with the "κυνοκέφαλος carrying the lamp" in Aries (Teukros [TR] 1 Dekan 2–3) and a star called the dog-faced Archer (κυνοπρόσωπος τοξεύων; cf. Boll [1903] 262). Ctesias talked about dog-faced men (ap. Phot. 47b19), as did Megasthenes (Plin. *HN* 7.2.14). Herodotus (4.191) writes about the dog-headed men who live in eastern Libya; see further, Stengel (1911) 26–7; Kartunnen (1984); Romm (1992) 77–81. On myths of Dogmen in general and

in various cultures, see White (1991). If the war is viewed as a battle of philosophical schools, the dog-faced warriors might represent the Cynics. Diogenes is the "celestial dog" in the famous epigram of Cercidas (fr. 1, Powell).

Γαλαξίου: Porphyry *De Antr.* 28 [75] comments that "according to Pythagoras, the souls are 'people of dreams' [δῆμος ὀνείρων, *Od.* 24.12] who, he says, are assembled in the Milky Way [Γαλαξίας] which derives its name from 'milk' [γάλα] because they are nourished with milk when they first fall into γένεσις" (transl. Lamberton [1983] 36); see also Numenius fr. 35 [Des Places].

On the Milky Way as the abode of some souls, see Cic. *De Rep.* 6.16 and Manil. 1.758–808. This is perhaps drawn from the eschatological vision of Empedotimus, written by Heraclides of Pontus: cf. Gottschalk (1980) 100–5; 149–54; see further, "Galaxias" *RE* 13 (1910) 560–71, espec. 564 [Gundel]; Capelle (1917); Buffière (1956) 445–7; Lamberton (1986) 67, 70, 73–4, 115, 128.

Νεφελοκένταυροι: the centaurs were sprung from Ixion and the cloud which Zeus substituted for Hera, a story which is told in *D.Deor.* 9(6).4–5. In Pindar (*P.* 2.44) the Centaurs are the offspring of Centaurus (the son of Ixion and Nephele) who mated with mares. With the Nephelocentaurs, we may compare the Hippocentaurs: see *Herm.* 72; *Zeux.* 3; Plat. *Phdr.* 229D. The "cloud" element recalls the airy speculations of the philosophers ridiculed in the *Icaromenippus* and Aristophanes' *Clouds*. Aristophanes' avian city in the clouds, Cloudcuckooland (*Av.* 819), is also evoked here and is explicitly referred to later, in *VH* 1.29. In *Nu.* 346 Socrates asks Strepsiades if he has seen a cloud that looks like a centaur and in 350 the Clouds make fun of pederasts like Xenophantus by making themselves look like centaurs. For "centaurs" as a term for overlustful pederasts, see also Hesychius s.v.; *schol.* Aeschines 1.52. On the Centaur in the sky, see Manil. 1.418; 5.348–56; this is the Sagittarius of the zodiac.

ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ... τὴν χώραν: the slingers from the Milky Way are punished by Phaethon who burns up their land, because they did not turn up for the battle; cf. in Lychnopolis (1.29) any lamp which fails to answer its name is condemned to death, as if it has deserted its post. This is a comic variation on the traditional myth in which Phaethon loses control of the Sun's chariot and accidentally scorches the earth (cf. *D.Deor.* 24[25]); here, he deliberately wastes the land

of his unreliable allies with fire. It also plays on the Pythagorean belief that the Milky Way was formed by Phaethon's chariot-ride; cf. Boll (1907) 8; Manil. 1.729–49. In *Astr.* 19, Lucian says men think Phaethon was the son of Helios and tell an incredible story about him—because of his youth and lack of expertise he was drawn closer to the earth and then far away, causing extremes of heat and cold (cf. the wall in *VH* 1.19 which plunges the moon into darkness). In metaphorical terms, one could argue that Phaethon is destroying a group of philosophers by fire; a similar notion is found in *Icar.* 21, where the Moon declares that she cannot remain in her land unless Zeus destroys (ἐπιτρίψῃ) the natural philosophers, and burns down (καταφλέξῃ) the Academy. Later, in 33, the Assembly of the gods calls on Zeus to blast (κεραύνωσον), burn (κατάφλεξον), and destroy (ἐπίτριψον) the philosophers. The conflict between the philosophers and the gods is presented in terms of a war: the moon says that the only way she can have peace is through the destruction of the philosophers (21). In *Icaromenipus*, at least, the primary target seems to be the Stoics. In the last words of the dialogue, Menippus says that "he is off to give the good news to the philosophers wandering around in the Stoa Poikile" (34). Destruction by fire may also allude to the Stoic doctrine of κόσμου ἐκπύρωσις expounded by Heraclitus; cf. *Vit. Auct.* 14; for Lucian's knowledge of Heraclitus, see Anderson (1976a) 120. Later, in *VH* 2.18, the Stoics are absent from the Islands of the Blessed, because they are still "climbing the hill of virtue", just as here perhaps they are the only group of Phaethon's allies who do not make it to the battle.

1.17

ὠγκήσαντο ἑκατέρων οἱ ὄνοι: asses and their loud braying are perhaps naturally connected with philosophy for Lucian at least; in *Fug.* 14 the Cynic is said to bray. In *Pseud.* 3, the mistaken critic is compared to an ass, disguised in a lion's skin. In *Fug.* 13 philosophers are said to have "transformed themselves in looks and apparel (σχηματίζουσιν καὶ μετακοσμοῦσιν αὐτούς), like the jackass in Cyme who put on a lionskin and began to bray harshly"; he claimed to be a lion, and some believed him. In *Pisc.* 31, Frankness could not stand the shame of their impersonation, "copying the ass of Cumae": he was exposed by a foreigner who knew what lions were like, i.e. it takes someone who knows how to tell true from false.

In the *prolalia Dionysus* 4 the donkey of Silenus gives a warlike bray

(ἐνυάλιόν τι ὠγκήσατο) at the beginning of the battle between Dionysus and the Indians. In the same work (2) Lucian refers to Silenus' riding on a donkey as his usual mode of transport. It may also parody the standard battle-cries, like Ἐνυάλιος; cf. *Nav.* 36. For the Ass-trumpet, the inspiration may lie in the tale told by Eratosthenes about the Aselli in the constellation of Cancer (*Cat.* 11 [Robert (1983) 92]; cf. *schol.* Germ. 71.4–10; Hyg. *Astron.* 2.23.2): when Zeus was summoning the gods to fight the Giants, Dionysus, Hephaestus, and the satyrs arrived riding on asses. When they were not far off from the enemy, the asses caught fright and let out a great braying, a sound unknown to the Giants who fled and were thus defeated. Hyginus adds that there is a similar story about the trumpet of Triton: he brought a conch shell and made an unfamiliar sound; the Giants, thinking it must be coming from some huge unknown beast, fled. Herodotus (4.129) tells how the braying of asses causes confusion among the horses of the Scythian cavalry, giving the Persians a small advantage. Lucian has combined various elements from such sources and made the asses the signalers of the beginning of battle. σαλπιστῶν is a later form of σαλπιγκτῶν. The σάλπιγξ was the signal for the beginning of athletic and other competitions at agonistic festivals and may suggest here that the epic battle between philosophers and their fantastic doctrines is about to commence.

αὐτίκα . . . δεξάμενον: cf. Xen. *Anab.* 1.8.19, 10.1; 4.3.31.

τροπῆς λαμπρᾶς: for λαμπρός as "decisive" in military contexts, cf. Thuc. 1.49.7; 7.55.1. Lucian uses τροπή in a rhetorical as well as military context in *Pisc.* 45: most of the philosophers jump over the cliffs to avoid the trial to decide who are the genuine ones and the Cynic dropped his bag in the rout (ἐν τῇ τροπῇ).

ἐπεξῆλθον: "marched out" or "attacked", in a military context; the verb is also used of pursuing an argument: e.g. Plat. *Rep.* 361D; *Gorg.* 492D, and of discussing or examining something fully or accurately: e.g. Thuc. 3.67; Plat. *Leg.* 672A; Luc. *J. Trag.* 17 (εἰς τέλος ἐπεξελεύσεσθαι τὸ σκέμμα). Such words operate on both military and rhetorical levels (cf. παρασκευῇ, 1.17).

ἐγκλίναντες: "having turned away" or "having given way"; the military retreat is analogous to verbal retreat by the philosopher; cf. *Philops.* 6, where Eucrates lowers his voice (ἠρέμα ἐγκλίνας τῇ φωνῇ εἰς τὸ ἀσθενικόν), because he is supposed to be ill.

τὸ αἷμα ἔρρει . . . θανάτῳ: the passage in question is *Il.* 16.458–61, where the son of Zeus and Europa, Sarpedon, is killed by Patroclus and Zeus makes the clouds rain blood in honour of the young man. This is the first direct allusion to Homer and the first hint that the narrator is an expert in Homeric criticism (cf. 2.20). The narrator is offering a supposedly rational explanation of Homer's poetic exaggeration. In *Dea Syr.* 8, the narrator first offers a mythological explanation—the general version—of the blood-red (αἱμάσσεται) colour of the river Adonis near Byblos (Adonis is being wounded), but then gives a preferable scientific explanation—told to him by a certain man—red soil blown by the wind. Another rationalist interpretation of the rain of blood is given by Heraclitus *Hom. All.* 42: a violent storm; Lucian's own explanation, while apt enough in the context of the narrative, is as far-fetched as Homer's original poetic conceit. Sextus Empiricus (*Pyrrh. Hyp.* 1.162) mentions the rain of blood as an example of a phenomenon contrary to the doctrine of the ἀπαθής deity. On sanguinary rains in Roman history, see Livy 24.10.7; 39.46.5; Pliny *HN* 2.147.

1.18

δύο τρόπαια: the trophy (*tropaion*) is connected with the rout (*trope*) and was erected on the spot where it occurred (cf. Thuc. 2.92.5; 7.54). For the erection of two or more trophies for a single battle, cf. Thuc. 4.124.4; 5.3.4; 7.24.1, 45.1, 54.1. For two trophies erected because each side claimed the victory, cf. Thuc. 2.92.5; 4.134.1. Diodorus 13.51.7 records that at the battle of Cyzicus in 410, when the Athenians were victorious over Pharnabazus, two trophies were erected, one for the sea battle, the other for the infantry battle; cf. 13.19.3, at the Asinaros river in 413 BCE (when the Syracusans defeated the Athenians) two trophies were put up; see further W. West (1969) on trophies in the Persian wars and, more generally, Pritchett (1974) 246–75 with a full list of trophies and copious bibliography. The setting up of trophies is ridiculed as pointless in *Char.* 24 when Charon spies the Spartan Othryadas writing on the trophy in his own blood.

συγκείμενοι: Isocrates (*Pan.* 168) uses this verb of the misfortunes concocted by poets; cf. Arist. *Metaph.* 982b19–20 of a myth "composed of wonders".

τοῦ Ῥοδίων κολοσσοῦ: the Colossus of Rhodes was made by Cares of Lindus at the end of the 4th cent. BCE and stood at the entrance

of the harbour. It represented the god Helios (*J. Trag.* 11) and so is an appropriate object of comparison for the Nephelocentaurs in Phaethon's army. The evocation of Rhodes parallels the reference to the Cyclades in the description of the size of the spiders on the Moon earlier (1.15). The statue was 70 cubits high (c. 31 metres), and was felled by an earthquake (c. 224 BCE). Nevertheless, it is one of the landmarks spied by Menippus in *Icar.* 12. In *Hist.* 23, there is a picture of the head of the Colossus on the body of a dwarf, as an example of the lack of proper proportion in historiography. Other comparisons to the size of a colossus appear in *Imag.* 17 and *Herm.* 71.

ἐξ ἡμισείας ἐς τὸ ἄνω: "from the middle to the top" (cf. *Deor. Conc.* 4: Pan with horns and like a goat from the waist down); there are two ways to read this: (1) following the scholiast on *VH* 1.18 [Rabe, 19], who takes ἐξ ἡμισείας with the noun τοῦ κολοσσοῦ, and (2) following Jerram and Reardon who take it as referring to the body of the Nephelocentaurs. In the first case, the human upper part of the Nephelocentaurs is as big as the upper half of the Colossus; in the second case, it is as big as the whole Colossus. The ambiguity inherent in the position of ἐξ ἡμισείας ἐς τὸ ἄνω is not resolved in most translations. The possibility that it is deliberate should also be considered: the narrator sometimes sounds like a historian (when he gives precise descriptions), and sometimes like a poet (when he leaves room for the imagination of the reader). On the colossus itself, see Philo Byz. *De Septem Orbis Spectaculis*, 4; Maryon (1956); G. Roux (1960).

ὅσον νεὼς μεγάλης φορτίδος: cf. 1.11, where the size of the wings of Endymion's Horse-vultures is compared to the mast of a big cargo-ship. Thus the same image is used of the élite forces in each army, and this serves as a reminder of the connections between these aerial concoctions of the mind and the real world of everyday human activity. This comparison also draws a link between the fabrications in the sky and the ship of the narrator, which is blown by the winds of poetry and philosophy.

ὁ ἐκ τοῦ ζῳδιακοῦ τοξότης: the Archer Sagittarius, represented in art as a centaur with a stretched bow and an arrow (see Bouché-Leclercq [1899] 143–4; Boll [1903] 143–8). The battle is decided in Phaethon's favour by the Nephelocentaurs, whose unexpected late arrival catches the Moonites unawares. Their arrows determine the outcome of the battle, nullifying the earlier success of Endymion's forces (cf. the

arrows of Tyche in *Herm.* 28, which are unlikely to hit the one true philosopher among the thousands of false ones). The sequence of events is somewhat reminiscent of the *Iliad*, where the Trojans make headway during Achilles' retirement from the battlefield, only to lose ground when he returns, and ultimately they lose the war itself.

διαταξάμενοι τεταραγμένοις . . . ἀτάκτως: parechesis, which emphasizes the disorganized state of the Lunar forces (or philosophical arguments) and the orderly disposition of the Nephelocentaurs (or counter-arguments). Διάταξις means arrangement of topics in *Hist.* 24 (cf. 47, τὴν τάξιν) and ἀτάκτως is used in *Nigr.* 8 of a disorderly presentation of material. The word τάξις is also used by Lucian with regard to the Stoic belief in divine providence which is manifested by the orderly arrangement of the universe (*J. Trag.* 38) In *Bis Acc.* 11, Pan makes fun of the quarrels of the philosophers (about virtue, nature, incorporeal things) and the fervour with which they defend their position. He says that they spoil their arguments and confuse (διαταράξαντες and συγχέαντες) the original subjects of enquiry, and the winner is the one who is more loudmouthed and impudent. The victory of the Sunites does not necessarily mean that they represent the best or the truest school, rather that they happen to have caught their opponents unawares with the giant Nephelocentaurs, who seem to be the largest of all the hybrid creatures, and, given the symbolism of clouds, the most "airy" of all the participants.

ἀτάκτως . . . δίωξιν: cf. Thuc. 2.91.4; 3.108.3; 5.9.3; 7.53.2; Stengel (1911) 29.

ἀνέσπασαν . . . τὰ τρόπαια: this recalls the passage in *Hist.* 38, where Lucian says that it would have been easy for Thucydides to have overturned the counter-wall at Epipolai with one stroke of the pen, but the historian's duty is to tell the truth. Likewise, the narrator here is concerned to present himself as a reliable historian, and so he does not hesitate to give an account of the rout of Endymion's forces and their disorganized state. The sequence of events is unexpected and bizarre: the victors set up a trophy and go off in search of plunder, only to fall victim to a counter attack by which they are overwhelmed. This reflects not so much a real-life military situation as the nature of philosophical argument: just when one side thinks it has won a complete victory, the other comes back with unexpected strength and reverses the situation, forcing the previous vic-

tors into an ignominious retreat. Then the new victors set up their own trophies. See also Thuc. 1.54, where the Corinthians and Corcyreans set up rival trophies; and 4.134, when the Mantineans and Tegeans both set up trophies after a disputed outcome of the battle. Compare also the unexpected outcome of the fight between the army of Dionysus consisting mainly of maenads and the Hindus and their elephants, in *Dion.* 3–4.

κατέδραμον: cf. Thuc. 8.92.3. In a metaphorical context it is used of attacking or persecuting, and especially in an argument it means "run down" or "trample on" (Plat. *Theaet.* 171C); compare the metaphorical use of παραθέω (*Hist.* 57; Plat. *Theaet.* 171C).

τὼ χεῖρε . . . ἀποκόμματι: their hands are bound by the cobweb spun by their allies (1.15); in terms of warring philosophers, they are captives of their own side's arguments. The arrest motif appears in *Pisc.* 14, where the philosophers arrest Parrhesiades (who stands for Lucian himself). With the cobweb chains, cf. the octopus grappling-irons (1.41) and the tow-rope of roses (2.26). In *VH* 2.6, the travellers are again bound, when they arrive on the Isle of the Blessed, by chains of roses. The clothes of the inhabitants are made of cobweb (2.12). We may also compare the delicate chains of Heracles, allegorically representing Eloquence, attached to his captives' ears in the *prolalia Her.* 3; cf. also the cobweb plain and see n. on 1.15. In the myth of Arachne, the rope from which she attempts to hang herself is transformed into a cobweb and she climbs up it to safety; Lucian similarly uses cobwebs as ropes (see n. on 1.15 above).

1.19

πολιορκεῖν: used metaphorically in Plat. *Alc.* 2.142A and *Rep.* 453A: ἵνα μὴ ἔρημα τὰ τοῦ ἑτέρου λόγου πολιορκῆται. Plutarch uses πολιορκία in a simile in a philosophical context in Plut. *De Com. not. adv. Stoic.* 1059B; cf. Plut. *Adv. Col.* 1095A; 1120D.

ἀναστρέψαντες: "having wheeled around"; in rhetorical usage ἀναστρέφω means "to reverse the order of words or statements" (Demetr. *Eloc.* 11). The Solar forces do not resort to the expected measure of besieging the city, but instead they withdraw and build a wall to block out the light. The same verb is used of "turning back" while attempting to reach the summit of virtue in Stoic philosophy (*Herm.* 5) and of old philosophers turning back on their cherished beliefs (*ib.* 75.)

ἀπετείχιζον . . . διήκειν: inspired most probably by the blockade of clouds in Aristoph. *Av.* 550–2 (cf. 172; 183; 839–42; 1124–62) and by the description of Babylon's walls in Hdt. 1.178–9. Phaethon does not do the most obvious thing—besiege the city—but cuts off the light of the Sun with a dividing-wall (cf. διατείχισμα in 1.20). In philosophical terms, this means shutting off the source of knowledge and recalls Plato's myth of the Cave. The three prisoners bound (δεθέντες) with the cobweb are reminiscent of the δεσμῶται in Plato's Cave. There is a figurative wall between history and encomium in *Hist.* 7. The transposition onto the moon of a wall regularly built during a war on earth recalls Lucian's complaint in *Hist.* 24 against a historian whose geographical inaccuracies led him to "transport" the city of Samosata, with its acropolis and walls, into Mesopotamia. Compare also *Hist.* 38: ἀποτειχίζοντα with reference to the blockades of Gylippus, and παρατείχισμα, a counter-wall built by the Syracusans at Epipolai (Thuc. 7.11.3). Stengel (1911) 29 suggests that Phaethon's building of the wall is analogous to the Athenian decree to kill all the Mytileneans, i.e. both actions are punishments inflicted in anger (Thuc. 3.36.2).

τὸ δὲ τεῖχος ἦν διπλοῦν: cf. *Hist.* 7, where Lucian says that there should be a big wall between history and encomium. He may also have the walls of Athens in mind here: the Athenian city wall was replaced in 479 BCE by a new wall constructed at the urging of Themistocles (Thuc. 1.90; Plut. *Them.* 19.2–3). The ports of Phaleron and Piraeus were linked to the city by the Long Walls (Thuc. 1.107.1, 108.3; Plut. *Per.* 13.4).

νεφελωτόν: *hapax.*

σαφὴς ἔκλειψις τῆς σελήνης: despite scientific explanations of the eclipse of the moon and of the sun (e.g. those preserved in Pliny *HN* 2.43–58), it remained a topic imbued with superstitious beliefs. This was frequently exploited by military leaders to manipulate the soldiers under their command: see, for instance, Plut. *Pel.* 31.3–4; *Nic.* 23.1–7; *Alex.* 31.8; Diod. 20.5.5; Justin. 22.6.1–5; Front. *Strateg.* 1.12.9. The ability to understand the phenomenon is connected with philosophical education in Plutarch (*Dio* 24.1). For the theories of Anaximander, the Pythagoreans, and others on the blocking of light from the moon by an obstruction, see Ps.-Plut. *De Plac. phil.* 891E–F. Both the earth and the counter-earth could block the sun's light

from the moon: Arist. fr. 16 (Walzer) [Aetius 2.29.4]; see also Arist. *De Cael.* 293b21; *Metaph.* 1044b10; *Meteor.* 345a29; and Préaux (1973) 158–78, on eclipses of the moon.

It seems that, however the eclipse was explained, it often marked a change in the prevailing conditions in the human realm. In this particular episode, the eclipse of the moon marks the subjection of the Moon to the Sun and undermines any notion of the Moon's autonomy. Lucian is parodying the traditional battle-narrative in which the eclipse presages the outcome of a human battle; here, the eclipse is a military technique used by the Sun against the Moon comparable to a siege. For more information about the effects of eclipses on military conflicts, see Pritchett (1979) 108–113.

The Moon has the ability to prevent the Sun's light from reaching the earth: see Plut. *De Fac.* 929C. In 929D, one of the speakers, Lucius, refers to and refutes Posidonius' theory that the profundity of the Moon prevents the sun's light from passing through and reaching the earth. In astronomical terms, of course, the earth can also prevent the Sun's light from reaching the Moon (932E). The Sun, however, cannot *itself* stop its light from reaching the Moon and herein lies the humour of Lucian's parody: the Sun (i.e. Phaethon) constructs a wall to throw the Moon into the darkness of an eclipse. The vocabulary of fighting is used to describe the eclipses of the sun and moon in Plut. *De Fac.* 933A; cf. Livy 22.1.9: *pugnantemque cum luna solem.*

πιεζόμενος: used of being pressed militarily, but also in argument: Plut. *Alc.* 6.5: πιέζων τῷ λόγῳ; cf. Polyb. 3.21.3.

1.20

The terms of the treaty are similar to those agreed between the Athenians and the Spartans (Thuc. 5.18.1–19.2): see Stengel (1911) 29–30. While this could be a specific allusion to the treaty in Thucydides, suggesting a parallel between the luno-solar conflict and the Peloponnesian war, Bompaire (1958) 640 is probably right in suggesting that what we have here are vague reminiscences familiar to those who have an adequate knowledge of the history of the classical period. The Sun and the Moon cease hostilities and agree to colonize the Morning-Star together. There was a tradition of the two celestial bodies as brother and sister (Hes. *Th.* 371) and of the moon as the daughter of the sun (Aesch. fr. 375 [Radt]; Eur. *Phoen.*

175). The idea of a sexual relationship between the Sun and the Moon is found in Plut. *De Fac.* 929C and 945C, where the Sun inseminates the Moon with *nous* and she produces new souls (cf. *De Isid. et Os.* 368D; see further, Préaux [1973] 65–6). In Antonius Diogenes' novel, according to Photius 109b29–32, Astraeus resolves the strife between two kings by having them take turns to rule, according to the phases of the moon. In the treaty there may be also an allusion to the notion of balance between Strife and Eros in the universe.

φόρον ... δρόσου: dew is produced in the absence of the sun and is therefore, as Ollier (1962) 27 notes, an appropriate tribute from the Moon. For the Moon as the producer of dew, see Pliny *HN* 18.275–7; 283. In Nonnus (*Dion.* 40.376), the Moon is "dewy" (δροσόεσσα). In 1.23 the Moonmen drink a moisture like dew formed from compressed air. In 2.11, the City of the Blessed has baths filled with hot dew instead of water. In *Icar.* 13, Empedocles, who lives on the Moon, feeds on dew and in *Rhet. Praec.* 11, the false rhetorician is a phantom nourished on dew. In Aristoph. *Nu.* 277, the Clouds, the deities of the philosophers, have a radiant dewy form; cf. also 338.

In Plut. *De Fac.* 939F–940A, the moon is associated with moistness and femininity and Alcman (fr. 57 [*PMG*]) is quoted to the effect that the Dew is the daughter of Zeus and Selene and that the air (Zeus) is liquefied by the moon and turned into dew-drops; see further, Roscher (1890) 49–55; on Herse, see *ib.* 6; 50; 100. In Ps.-Plut. *De Plac. phil.* 875F, the fire of the sun and the stars feeds on the exhalation of the waters, according to Thales; and in 890E we are informed that the Stoics believed that the sun's course depends upon its distance from the food placed below it, the ocean or the earth, whose exhalations it absorbs. The Stoics thought that the sun is attached to the sea and feeds on her, while the waters of the springs and lakes send to the moon a gentle exhalation (Plut. *De Is. et Os.* 367E). On the poetic and religious significance of dew, see Boedeker (1984).

τὴν δὲ ἀποικίαν ... κοινῇ ποιεῖσθαι: for the establishment of joint colonies, cf. *Nav.* 3, a reference to Thuc. 1.6 and the Ionian colonization.

στήλῃ ἠλεκτρίνῃ: cf. the bronze stele in 1.7, which is designed to be a permanent reminder (see also *Hist.* 62). In *Astr.* 19, the speaker refutes the whole myth of Phaethon and in *Electr.* 6 Lucian, having demolished the myth of Phaethon's sisters weeping tears of amber,

and characterized it as a poetic falsehood (ἀπίθανον . . . μηδὲν ὑγιές, 3), uses the phrase "ambers and swans" to designate the misleading improbabilities found in abundance in the writings of the poets. In *Her.* 3, the ears of the listeners are bound to Heracles, who represents Eloquence, by chains of gold and amber. Hughes-Brock (1985) 260–1 discusses amber's connection with the sun and outlandish regions. On connections between Phaethon and amber, see also Eur. *Hipp.* 740–1; Diggle (1970) 5, 7.

What is the meaning then of the inscription on a stele of amber? First, amber was not the material normally used for a stele; second, it is a material which represents, on one level at least, lies and improbabilities. Thus the treaty is not to be taken seriously as putting an end to the struggle between the Moon and the Sun: the philosophers will continue to argue, because the end of their conflict implies a cessation of philosophical debate. If the format of the treaty alludes to the agreement between the Athenians and Spartans in Thucydides 5.18.1–19.2, as suggested in n. on 1.20 above, this would strengthen the notion of a merely temporary cessation of hostilities.

Amber is discussed at length by Pliny *HN* 37.53, who includes the information that it is a liquid produced by the rays of the sun causing sweat to ooze from the earth (36); that it is good for infections of the tonsils and throat (44); that it is a preventive of delirium (51) and that it is good for dimness of sight, when mixed with honey (51).

Πυρωνίδης . . . καὶ Πολυλάμπης: the Solar signatories: Son of Fire, Summer-Heat, Blazing; the lunar signatories: Night-Time, Moon-Month, Allbright. Each side chooses names which reflect the Sun's or the Moon's powers. Θερείτης suggests the part of the year when the sun is strongest; Πολυλάμπης may refer to the full moon, while Μήνιος alludes to the fact that the cycle of months was regulated by the moon. Plutarch (*De anim. procr. in Tim.* 1029B) gives names for planets which are associated with light: Στίλβων (Mercury), Φωσφόρος (Venus), Πυρόεις (Mars), Φαέθων (Jupiter), Φαίνων (Saturn, also called Νυκτοῦρος, [Nightwatchman] at 941C). In Plut. *De Gen.* 581D Πυριλάμπης is Plato's stepfather. In *Od.* 12.132, Phaethousa and Lampete, daughters of Hyperion, tend the flocks of Helios.

1.21

τὸ τεῖχος . . . ἀπέδοσαν: the wall is gradually pulled down (cf. the imperfect tense καθῃρεῖτο), the light of the sun returns and the

prisoners are released: this continues the reminiscence of Plato's myth of the Cave. In *J. Trag.* 52, the fight between the Epicurean and the Stoic ends like a comedy, with no apparent harm done.

1.21–26: CUSTOMS OF THE MOONMEN

The topics discussed are: gender and marriage, two kinds of conception and birth, death, food, drink, orifices of excretion and sexual intercourse, hair and beards, feet, tail, bodily fluids, production of oil and water, stomach, clothing, eyes and ears. This section is, among other things, a parody of ethnographic digressions in Herodotus (such as those on the Egyptians and Scythians in books 2 and 4 respectively), Iambulus (ap. Diod. 2.56.2–59), and all the other travel writers, like Ctesias and Megasthenes, who recorded incredible details about foreign peoples; see further Pritchett (1993) on lies in Herodotus; Hartog (1988) on Herodotus and Otherness. This is a good example of Lucian's use of the device of the "reversed" or "mirrored" human world, in which there is a mixture of the familiar and the unfamiliar: see G-L (1994) 1497–1500.

The pattern of alluding to several different philosophers and schools continues. Utopian philosophical schemes, such as those of Plato, may also have been an important source for Lucian; these are parodied most extensively in the visit to the Isle of the Blessed, but some of the details of the life of the Moonmen seem to be drawn from utopian visions (see Introd. III.2). The Moon, according to Plutarch *De Gen.* 591C, is the only one among the "islands" that belongs to terrestrial *daimones* (δαίμονες ἐπιχθόνιοι), while the others belong to the gods. In *Icar.* 13, Empedocles is initially taken for a σεληναῖος δαίμων. Aristotle said the Pythagoreans thought Pythagoras himself was one of the *daimones* on the moon (fr. 192 [Rose]: Guthrie [1962–81] 2.308 n. 4).

κοινωνεῖν . . . παῖδα: cf. *Od.* 9.29–30, where Calypso asks Odysseus to stay and be her husband or 5.136, where she offers immortality to him. Presumably this is Endymion's way of fulfilling the promise he made in 1.12; cf. note above. The offer of his son in marriage also parodies Alcinous' offer to give his daughter Nausicaa to Odysseus in *Od.* 7.311–12. In both cases, acceptance of the offer would mean

abandoning the journey home. In *Alex.* 35, when Rutilianus asks the prophet about getting married, Alexander tells him to marry his own daughter, who was born of Selene. Lucian has here inverted a motif he used already in the *Symp.*: the offer of marriage comes at the end of the battle between competing philosophical arguments, whereas in *Symp.* 5 the marriage of the host's daughter is the occasion for a gathering of philosophers, which ends up in a brawl.

The scholiast proposes that the incident of Endymion's son in the *VH* alludes to the carrying off of Ganymede [Rabe, 20]. In the myth, Zeus snatches Ganymede up to the heavens and gives his father Tros either marvellous horses or a golden vine in exchange. The snatching up of Ganymede recalls the way the ship of the travellers is lifted up to the moon (in the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* 208, Ganymede is carried off by a whirlwind). In *D.Deor.* 10(4).1, between Zeus and Ganymede, Zeus carries off the boy as an eagle. A connection between Endymion and homosexuality is recorded in Athen. 564C: Licymnios of Chios wrote about how Hypnos was in love with Endymion and had him sleep with his eyes wide open, so that he could enjoy looking at them continually.

ἐγὼ δὲ . . . πείθειν: cf. *Od.* 9.33; the narrator's rejection is emphatic. He is determined to return to the sea and continue his journey of exploration. In 2.27, by contrast, he is unwilling to leave the Isle of the Blessed and cries.

ἑστιάσας: in *Philops.* 39, the verb is used of "feasting oneself" on lies. The word may have a double meaning here, too: Endymion feasts the guests on his own lies. It is striking that the next passage (22–26) is a catalogue of fantastic details about the Moonmen's strange customs (καινὰ καὶ παράδοξα).

1.22

τὸ μὴ ἐκ γυναικῶν . . . ἀρρένων: a detail reminiscent of Athena's birth from Zeus' head (*Th.* 924) and Dionysus' from Zeus' thigh (Apollod. 3.4.3). Such myths reflect the fantasy of birth from the male without the assistance of the female and more broadly the notion of an exclusively male society (cf. Plat. *Rep.* 468B–C and Luc. *Vit. Auct.* 17: on how male friendships are good for producing warriors). The account of the Moonmen is more than a simple reversal of gender roles such as that found in Antonius Diogenes (ap. Phot. 109b35–7):

Derkyllis was taken to the land of the Artabroi, where, it is said, women do the fighting and men take care of the home. It is, rather, a vision of a society without any women whatsoever.

In Plat. *Symp.* 191D–192E, Aristophanes, speaking of the men who are from the "male" category, argues that they pursue men and that homosexual relationships are better than heterosexual ones, which are associated with adultery (cf. the adultery motif in the story of Helen and Cinyras in *VH* 2.25–6); these men are content to be unmarried. He pictures a joining of two lovers into a single physical entity (192C–E); Lucian's Moonmen represent the ultimate fulfillment of such ideas, since they can actually reproduce themselves.

For Selene as the turning-point of birth (καμπὴ τῆς γενέσεως), see Plut. *De Gen.* 591 B; *De Fac.* 945C. The ultimate source is Plat. *Phd.* 72B. Artemis and Eilithyia are the contrary faculties of the Moon, virginity and childbirth. In *De Fac.* 938F, Artemis is identified with the Moon because she is "sterile but helpful and beneficial to other females"; Lucian's all-male lunar society parodically inverts this. The "motherless" nature of the moon may also be alluded to here: in Nonnus *Dion.* 40.375 the Moon is said to be "without a mother". Herodorus of Heraclea (ap. Athen. 57F) says that the women on the Moon lay eggs: τὰς γὰρ σεληνίτιδας γυναῖκας ᾠοτοκεῖν καὶ τοὺς ἐκεῖ γεννωμένους πεντεκαιδεκαπλασίονας ἡμῶν εἶναι. This is very similar to what Philolaus says about the inhabitants of the moon, but the latter does not mention anything about women there (A 20 [D-K]). The scarcity of females might also be explained by the relatively few number of women philosophers. In *Eun.* 7, three women philosophers are mentioned: Aspasia, Diotima and Thargelia.

μέχρι μὲν . . . αὐτός: γαμέω means "take a partner in marriage" (of the husband), and γαμέομαι "give oneself in marriage" (of the wife). The Moonmen play both parts; Pliny *HN* 7.15 [*FHG* 4.352] records Calliphanes' mention of the Machyles, a people in Africa, "who are *androgyni* and perform the function of either sex alternately" and Aristotle's statement that their right breast is a man's and the left one a woman's [fr. 606, Rose]. The dual role of the Moonmen, "passive" or as wives (γαμεῖται) until 25, and "active" or as husbands (γαμεῖ) after 25, recalls the roles of ἐραστής and ἐρώμενος in Greek homosexual relations: see Plat. *Symp.* 184D–E; Dover (1989) 16; 52–3; Downing (1989) 138–45; 169–73. The detail of the age difference is critical: Dover comments that "since the reciprocal desire of partners belonging to the same age-category is virtually unknown . . . the

distinction between the bodily activity of the [*erastes*] and the bodily passivity of the [*eromenos*] is of the highest importance" (16). For the androgynous role of the Moonmen, cf. *D.Deor.* 12.1, where Poseidon wonders whether Zeus was a man-woman (ἀνδρόγυνος), since he gave birth to Dionysus. In *Eun.* 8, the eunuch who is a candidate for the Chair of philosophy is criticised for being an ambiguous sort of creature (ἀμφίβολόν τι ζῷον), like a crow, which cannot be classified with doves or ravens. Cf. also *D.Deor.* 3(23).1 on the impossibility of telling whether Hermaphroditus is a boy or a girl. Anderson (1976a) 26 notes a parallel between the society of the Moonmen and the "universal brotherhood" of the Christians in *Peregr.* 13 and comments that "they too are ruled by an unlikely stranger who was once a man—a crucified sophist instead of the ravished shepherd who rules on the moon".

Bisexual beings are a feature of Orphic cosmogony: see *Orph. Frr.* 54, 56 [Kern]; likewise, the Pythagorean One is described as bisexual (Burkert [1972] 36). The early human forms (man-woman) described by Aristophanes in Plat. *Symp.* 189E–190B, possessing the sexual parts of both male and female, are born of the Moon, "for the Moon also partakes of both sexes" (cf. *Orph. Hymn* 9.4). These bisexual beings as described in 189E–190A have four arms and legs, two faces on one head, four ears and two sets of genitalia: see further, Dover (1989) 160–4; Downing (1989) 138; 238–58. Empedocles likewise includes bisexual beings among the monstrosities in B 61 [D-K], see Guthrie (1962–81) 2.203.

γαστροκνημίας: "calf [of the leg]": cf. Gal. 2.316 (Kuhn) [*Anat. Admin.* 2.7(57)]; 14.708 (Kuhn) [*Ascr. Introd.* 10(376)]; Hipp. *Artic.* 60.28; *Offic.* 9.17; Arist. *HA* 494a7–8: the front is the shin (ἀντικνήμιον) and the back is the calf, sinewy flesh containing bloodvessels. Aristotle *HA* 499b2–5 comments that on man, uniquely, the buttocks, thighs and calves are almost the fleshiest part of the whole body: αἱ γὰρ καλούμεναι γαστροκνημίαι ἐν ταῖς κνήμαις εἰσὶ σαρκώδεις. The birth from the calf of the leg may be an allusion to the birth of Dionysus from Zeus' thigh, cf. *D.Deor.* 12.1: Poseidon jokes that Zeus gets pregnant all over his body. See also *Orph. Fr.* 36 [Kern]. On etymology as a method of exegesis, see Buffière (1956) 60–5.

ἀνατεμόντες ... ζῳοποιοῦσιν: the cycle of life which begins at birth and ends with death is here reversed. The Moonmen are born dead, and are brought to life by the wind. In Plat. *Phd.* 71E–72A, Socrates

argues that not only do the dead come from the living but also that the living come from the dead: i.e. there is generation from the opposite. Perhaps Lucian is alluding to ideas of rebirth after death, such as that which is elaborated in the myth of Er. In *Tox.* 38, the Scythians swear by the wind because they consider it the source of life. For a somewhat similar notion of life-giving air, cf. the note on the Cephallenian goats in 1.23 below. In Aristoph. *Nu.* 627 intelligence is associated with breath: see Sommerstein (1982) n. ad loc. and *Ra.* 893; Heraclitus A 16 [D-K]; Diog. Apoll. A 19 [D-K]. Perhaps Lucian is suggesting that "baby" philosophers are not "alive" until the wind of intelligence—or, less kindly, the airiness of words—has blown upon them.

Lucian's description may also allude to the Pythagorean concept that the soul is borne by the winds and that through breathing it moves into a new body: τὴν ψυχὴν ἐκ τοῦ ὅλου εἰσιέναι ἀναπνεόντων φερομένην ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνέμων (Arist. *De Anim.* 410b [*Orph. Fr.* 27 (Kern)]; Philo, *De Somn.* 1.139; Plut. *Quaest. conv.* 740C; Reyhl [1969] 46). Aristotle (*GA* 741b37) says that the parts of animals are differentiated by means of the σύμφυτον πνεῦμα; cf. Peck (1943) App. B, 576–93; Hipp. *Nat. Puer.* 17.1 [498]: ἡ δὲ σάρξ αὐξομένη ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος ἀρθροῦται.

Porphyry *De Antr.* 25–7 [93–4] comments on winds and birth, noting that Boreas has the power to impregnate in *Il.* 20.224–5 and that the North wind revives those who are about to die (cf. *Il.* 5.698), as he is the one appropriate to those souls entering *genesis*. He adds at 28 [76]: "Even the name of the North Wind, Boreas, comes from 'nourishment' [βορά] since nourishment is food and the wind that blows from that part of the earth that is bursting with food, because it is 'nourishing', is called Boreas" (transl. Lamberton [1983] 37).

On the impregnation of female birds by the wind, see Sommerstein (1987) and Dunbar (1995) nn. on Aristoph. *Av.* 695. On wind-eggs, see Arist. *HA* 559b21–560a18; *GA* 749a35–b3, 750b–751a. In Plat. *Theaet.* 151E, Socrates says he will examine Theaetetus' utterance to see if it is a real offspring or a mere wind-egg (γόνιμον ἢ ἀνεμαῖον). Wind eggs did not hatch.

In *Anach.* 20, the way the Athenians treat their young is compared to the way farmers shelter and enclose their plants when they are young, so that they may not be injured by the breezes (πνευμάτων), but when the stalk begins to thicken (παχύνηται τὸ ἔρνος; cf. *VH* 1.22: παχύνεται ἡ κνήμη), they prune away the excessive growth (περιτέμουσι;

cf. ἀνατεμόντες and τρυγήσαντες *VH* 1.22) and expose them to the winds to be shaken and tossed. In that way, they are made more fruitful. Ctesias mentioned a people in India whose children begin to turn grey as soon as they are born (*FGrH* 688 F45, p.α [*FHG* 2.84]; cf. Pliny *HN* 7.23). In *Philops.* 12, one of the lies recounted by the Platonist, Ion, tells how a Babylonian magician, having gathered all the reptiles together, breathes on them and they burn up.

γένος . . . Δενδρῖται: the Tree-men; a sub-group of Moonmen. In *Philops.* 3, Tychiades ridicules the idea of people springing from the earth like vegetables: he says this is among the "lies of whole nations" and refers to the Athenian story about Erichthonius. Similar scorn is poured upon the Thebans' tale of the men who sprang up from the teeth of the dragon killed by Cadmus; the scholiast on the *VH* refers to this story [Rabe, 20]. Plutarch *Quaest. conv.* 675F mentions Dionysus Δενδρίτης (on which see Brosse [1989] 113–21); cf. the Vine-women (1.8), and the little men made out of wood for Dionysian worship (*Dea Syr.* 16). Herodotus mentions (4.108) the wooden city of the Boudinoi, who worship Dionysus. One of the lies told in the *Philopseudes* concerns the changing of a wooden pestle into a man (35–6).

Empedocles said that trees were the first living things to grow out of the earth and that, because of the matching of elements in their mixture, they combined the formula for male and female (A 70 [D-K]; see Guthrie [1962–81] 2.208–9). He also made no firm distinction between animal and vegetable life-forms and the cabbage on the backside of the Moonmen (1.23) and the ears of wood or plane-leaves below (1.25) may be an allusion to Empedoclean theories: in B 82 [D-K], he says that hair, leaves, scales and birds' wings are the same (see Guthrie 2.209–10). He claimed himself to have been a boy, a girl, a bush, a bird and a fish (B 117 [D-K]) and ranked life as a human above that as an animal, which was in turn better than that as a plant, with the bay-tree being the best choice (B 127 [D-K]). The possibility of Empedocles' being the primary target of the satire here is, perhaps, strengthened by his appearance to Menippus on the moon in *Icar.* 13. Anaxagoras and Democritus held similar views to Empedocles on plants, that they have intelligence and can acquire knowledge, according to Ps.-Arist. *De Plantis* 815b16–18 (cf. Guthrie 2.316; 469). In Plat. *Tim.* 77A, we read that the gods blended a substance akin to that of man to form another living

creature, the trees and plants and seeds, as nourishment. The similarity of human embryos to plants is noted by Hippocrates *Nat. Puer.* 17.2 [498]: διοζοῦται ὡς δένδρεον.

In Plutarch *De Fac.* 939E, we find the following justification for plants on the moon: the difference in climatic conditions among the regions of the earth and the growth of various types of plants, including some which cannot even stand dew, makes it no wonder if on the moon there grow roots and seeds and trees which do not need rain but are naturally suited to a summery and rarefied air.

ὄρχιν ... μέγεθος: ὄρχις is perhaps an allusion to salep whose root is shaped like a testicle (Diosc. 3.126; cf. the variety of olive called ὀρχάς, Nic. *Alex.* 87; Verg. *Georg.* 2.86). On the ὄρχις see Theophr. *HP* 9.18.3 and 5: ὁ δὲ καρπὸς τοῦ μὲν θηλυγόνου ὥσπερ ἐλάας βρύον ὠχρότερον δέ· τοῦ δ' ἀρρενογόνου οἷόνπερ ἐλάα ὅταν ἄρτι φύηται ἐκ τοῦ βρύου, δίκρουν δὲ ὥσπερ ὄρχεις ἀνθρώπων. Theophrastus also notes (*HP* 8.2.1) that the appearance of beans, chickpeas, and especially lupines, resembles the genitals (αἰδοιῶδες). Lucian may also be parodying Pythagorean ideas: in *Vit. Auct.* 6 the bean is said to resemble the male genitals and if it is cooked and left in the moonlight for a set number of nights, blood is made; see further, Burkert (1972) 184. The πῆχυς is approximately a cubit or half a metre.

κλάδους καὶ φύλλα: suggestive of pubic hair, if the tree is a penis. Cf. foliage as pubic hair in general, e.g. βληχώ (pennyroyal) of trimmed female hair in Aristoph. *Lys.* 89, or λόχμη (thicket) of men's hair in *Lys.* 800. See Henderson (1991) 46–7; 135–6; he also notes that the fig tree (συκῆ) "along with its pendant fruit, is used to indicate the male's whole sexual apparatus" (118). See also Plato Com. fr. 174.13–18 [Edmonds] (myrtle); Aristoph. *Lys.* 823–8 (κομήτης); cf. Eur. *Hipp.* 210.

βάλανοι πηχυαῖοι τὸ μέγεθος: cf. the Στρουθοβάλανοι in 1.13 and n. ad loc. Henderson (1991) 41 comments that the acorn, indicating the penis, "is the Greek version of an almost universal symbol (cf. our medical term *glans penis*)". See also on testicles, *ib.* 113; 118; 124–6.

Levine's survey of acorn-lore includes the association of oak and acorns with primitive or barbarian modes of existence (90–1; cf. *Od.* 9.186; Diod. 19.19.3: the Cossaeans who live in caves eating acorns and mushrooms) and with ancient peoples. According to Statius (*Theb.* 4.275–81), the Arcadians, born of oak (4.340: *robore nati*), were an ancient people, living even before the moon existed (91–2), at a time

when trees gave birth: *quercus laurique ferebant/cruda puerperia, ac populos umbrosa creavit/fraxinus, et feta viridis puer excidit orno.* Perhaps the Dendritai allude to the Dryopes, the "Oak men" who were the earliest inhabitants of the land (Levine [1988–9] 91; Fontenrose [1959] 423–4). Acorn-bearing trees, like the oak at the oracle of Dodona, seem to be associated with venerable old age and truth: *Od.* 14.327–8; Aesch. *PV* 830–2; Levine, *ib.* 92. Lucian often makes fun of the venerable appearance of philosophers (e.g. *Icar.* 5; *Pisc.* 37) and scorns their claims to truthfulness.

ἐκκολάπτουσι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους: "they hatch out the men", and carve the men from (the acorns). The general notion implied in the verb ἐκκολάπτω is that of releasing a living creature by breaking the shell which confines it; Arist. *HA* 618a13; cf. *VH* 2.40. Empedocles B 79 [D-K] says that "tall olive-trees bear eggs" (see Guthrie [1962–81] 2.209). On the idea of human beings hatched from eggs, compare the myth of Leda's children, the Dioscuri, who are born from an egg (Hor. *Sat.* 2.1.16), like their sister Helen (Schol. in Callim. *Hymn.* 12.232 [Pfeiffer, 2.65]). Neocles of Croton (perhaps a Pythagorean) said that the egg which contained Helen fell from the moon (Athen. 57E–F); Athenaeus disagrees, but confirms, on the authority of Herodorus of Heraclea (*FGrH* 31 F21), that the women on the moon lay eggs. On the importance of the egg in Orphic cosmogony, see *Orph. Frr.* 54, 57, 58, 60, 70, 71, 291 [Kern]; cf. Plut. *Quaest. conv.* 635E, 636D; Epimenides B 5 [D-K]; M. West (1983) 198–203. There are also connections with Dionysus: Plutarch (*Quaest. conv.* 636E) comments that in the rites of Dionysus the egg is consecrated as a symbol of that which produces everything and which contains everything within itself.

Helen is associated with the plane tree at Sparta (Theocr. 18.43–6) and at Caphyae in Arcadia there was a plane tree named after Menelaus (Paus. 8.23.4). There was a sanctuary of Helen Δενδρῖτις on Rhodes (Paus. 3.19.10), in reference to Helen who was hanged on the tree; see n. on 2.31 below. On birth from a tree, cf. the myth of Adonis, Ov. *Met.* 10.503–13. There is also the transformation into trees of Baucis and Philemon recounted in *Met.* 8.714–20, and the metamorphosis of Daphne in 1.548–56 (referred to earlier in *VH* 1.8).

αἰδοῖα . . . πρόσθετα ἔχουσιν: cf. in *D.Mer.* 5.4, Megilla wears a kind of dildo in her role as Megillus. Also, in *Dea Syr.* 20, Combabus deposits his genitals, stored in a container with honey and perfumes,

with the king before going on a journey (cf. 26–7; 50–3 for more on the galli). In *Ind.* 6 there is a more credible story of a prosthetic wooden foot made for a rich man who appears to have suffered from severe frostbite; see Hdt. 9.37 on Hegistratus of Elis; Plut. *De Frat. amor.* 479B: πόδα ξύλινον προσεποιήσατο. The prosthetic penis also recalls the fig-wood phallus in the myth of Prosymnus and Dionysus: see Clem. Alex. *Protr.* 2.34.3–5 [Potter]; RL s.v. "Polymnos". On the initiatory aspects of this story, see Downing (1991) 161–2; Sergent (1986) 181–92. On the penis in the ideology and practice of Greek homosexuality, see Dover (1989) 125–35; on the *olisbos, ib.* 102; 132.

The phallus of course featured in Dionysian rituals and processions (e.g. Aristoph. *Ach.* 243, at the rural Dionysia). In *VH* 1.30, the teeth of the whale are said to be much bigger than the ritual *phalloi* of Dionysus, and white as ivory. There is a variation on the same motif in *Dea Syr.* 16: in the sanctuary created by Dionysus, there are two sizeable *phalloi* at the gateway (with an inscription from Dionysus dedicating them to Hera) and in the temple are *phalloi* on which there are small wooden men with large penises. Later, in 28, we are informed that the *phalloi* at the entrance are 1,800 feet high and that a man lives on top of one for 7 days, in imitation of the wooden men sacred to Dionysus. He climbs it as if it were a palm tree (29).

ἐλεφάντινα . . . ξύλινα: a distinction which parallels social and financial distinctions in the actual world; cf. 1.25 (clothes and eyes), 1.29, 2.34; and Athen. 533E, quoting Anacreon fr. 388 [*PMG*] on Artemon, where wooden ear-rings are sign of poverty. Athenaeus 210C, writing about "vessel-holders", says that the poor have wooden ones, while those of the rich are of bronze or silver. We may contrast the apparent absence of such distinctions in Iambulus' utopian narrative (ap. Diod. 2.59.1–9).

Elephants' horns are connected with Dionysus in *Dea Syr.* 16: he brought them from Ethiopia. In *J. Trag.* 7–8 there is a hierarchy among the gods: those of gold, then of silver, of ivory, and last those of bronze or stone (and among the latter the gods made by Phidias, Myron or Euphranor have precedence) and lastly the συρφετώδεις. The wooden stick or club which marks the Cynic (e.g. *Vit. Auct.* 8 and *Fug.* 14) and Heracles may be alluded to here; the hero's club is a phallic symbol.

πλησιάζουσι τοῖς γαμέταις: as noted above (1.8), the verb πλησιάζω means both to have sexual intercourse with and to associate with (often used of the followers of philosophers; cf. *Herm.* 80). In *VH* 2.19, it is used of Socrates' consorting with the young and clearly has a double meaning. Thus, the all-male marriages of the Moonmen may represent the liaisons between the philosophers and their young followers; cf. 2.17. Sexual intercourse becomes a metaphor for practising philosophy. See further, Helleman (1995) 290–2; also Dover (1989) 153–70 on the associations between Platonic philosophy and homosexuality. There is a general emphasis on the connection between philosophy and masculinity in *Eun.* 10–12. On the ἐραστής as philosopher, and on Socrates' association with his ἐρώμενοι, see Downing (1989) 238–40.

1.23

ἐπειδὰν δὲ γηράσῃ . . . γίνεται: Lucian parodies Epicurus' belief that the soul composed of atoms was dissociated from the body at death and its ephemeral unity was destroyed; it was exhaled, struck by the winds, and then dissolved into the air like mist or smoke (ἀπολυθεῖσαι τῶν σωμάτων καπνοῦ δίκην σκίδανται, Sext. Emp. *Adv. Math.* 9.72 [fr. 337 Usener]; Cumont [1942] 121 n. 1). For the Epicurean belief in the dissolution of the soul, see also Lucr. 3.838–9 (*cum corpus atque animai/discidium fuerit*).

The dissolution into smoke also recalls Empedocles' transformation, when he dove into the crater of Mt. Etna; in *Icar.* 13 he tells Menippus that the smoke snatched him up out of the crater and brought him to the moon (ὁ καπνός με ἀπὸ τῆς Αἴτνης ἁρπάσας δεῦρο ἀνήγαγε). In *Icar.* 15, Menippus watches him gradually dissolve into smoke: ἐς καπνὸν ἠρέμα διελύετο. The word διαλυόμενος is possibly in allusion to Empedocles' representation of birth and death as a "mingling" and "separation" of elements (μῖξίς τε διάλλαξίς τε μιγέντων, B 8 [D-K]). Peregrinus the Cynic (*Peregr.* 33) hopes to mingle with the aether (ἀναμιχθῆναι τῷ αἰθέρι) when he dies, as Heracles did. For similar ideas in Plato, see *Gorg.* 524B: ὁ θάνατος τυγχάνει ὤν . . . οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ δυοῖν πραγμάτοιν διάλυσις, τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τοῦ σώματος, ἀπ' ἀλλήλοιν, and cf. *Phd.* 70A: ὥσπερ πνεῦμα ἢ καπνὸς διασκεδασθεῖσα. In *Phd.* 77D, Socrates comments on people's childish fears that when the soul goes out of the body the wind will blow it away and scatter it (διασκεδάννυσιν). For the Stoics, see Chrysippus, *SVF* 2.790; *Commenta Lucani* 9.1, p. 289 Usener [*SVF* 2. 817]; Posidonius fr. F108

[Edelstein-Kidd]; Epictetus *Disc.* 2.1.17–19; 3.24.10; 4.7.15. In Ps.-Plut. *Life and Poetry of Homer* 127, the Stoic conception of the soul as the breath of life (πνεῦμα) is said to go back to Homer *Il.* 23.100: ψυχὴ δὲ κατὰ χθονὸς ἠΰτε καπνός.

Plutarch (*De Fac.* 945A) reports that the bodies of the dead dissolve on the moon as they do into the earth; perhaps the death of the Moonmen is the dissolution of their soul. The smoke into which the Moonmen dissolve is analogous to the insubstantial form of the souls in the Isle of the Blessed (2.12); cf. the transformation of the Ass-legs into water (2.46). The dissolution into smoke may be connected with the gentle death brought by Artemis (*Od.* 11.172–3; 18.202); Plutarch (*De Fac.* 943B) connects this with the Moon (see Cherniss [1957] 220 n.a). An unusual and painless death for the islanders is also described in Iambulus (ap. Diod. 2.57.5). For καπνός as poetic vapour, cf. *Tim.* 1; Lucian has adapted this notion to the smoke of the philosophers.

τροφὴ δὲ πᾶσιν . . . δρόσον: Lucian is perhaps mocking the traditional description of the gods' banquets and the idea that they feed on the smoke from sacrifices and get drunk on nectar (cf. *Icar.* 27). The Moonmen are said to consume the same food, just as all the gods feed on ambrosia and nectar. On nectar and ambrosia, see e.g. Athen. 38F–39B; Plut. *De Fac.* 938B: as Athena instilled nectar and ambrosia into Achilles when he was not eating, so the Moon, which is Athena in name and fact, nourishes her men by sending up ambrosia for them daily, the food of the gods themselves, as Pherecydes believes (B 13a [D-K]). Ctesias mentions people in India who do not eat food or drink water, but who drink milk and nothing else (ap. Phot. 48b7); cf. the Galactophagoi (Ephorus ap. Str. 7.3.9 [*FGrH* 70 F42]; Hes. fr. 151 [Merkelbach and West]).

Empedocles feeds on dew in *Icar.* 13. Porphyry *Vit. Pyth.* 10 [Des Places] reports that Antonius Diogenes said that the child Astraeus was nourished by the dew distilled from a poplar-tree; Astraeus was brought up with the children of Mnesarchus, one of whom is Pythagoras (10–13). On the connection between ambrosia and dew, see RL s.v. "ambrosia". According to Ps.-Arist. *Mir. Ausc.* 9 (*PG* p. 226), the goats in Cephallenia do not drink like other quadrupeds, but each day they expose their faces to the sea, open their mouths and take in air; cf. Antig. 128 (*PG* p. 88). Plutarch (*Quaest. conv.* 660F) says the cicada feeds on dew.

βατράχους ὀπτῶσιν ... εὐωχοῦνται: Herodotus says that the inhabitants of the islands in the river Araxus get drunk by inhaling the smell, like frankincense, of certain fruits which they burn (1.202); they get more and more intoxicated until they start to dance and sing. He mentions that the Scythians did the same by inhaling the fumes of burning hemp-seeds (4.75). Smoke from sacrifices is the food of the gods (cf. Homer, *Il.* 1.317; Aristoph. *Av.* 193; 1231–3; *Icar.* 27). Plutarch (*De Fac.* 938C), citing Megasthenes, speaks of a certain race of people without mouths (Ἄστομοι) who fed on the fumes of an Indian root which they burned. Strabo 15.1.57, in a catalogue of examples of Megasthenes' falling into myth, elaborates on the same people: they live on the vapours from roasted meats and the smells of fruits and flowers; they have breathing orifices instead of mouths and feel pain when they breathe bad odours. For similar feeding habits of animals, according to the Pythagoreans, see Arist. *Parva Nat.* 445a16–29.

For the idea that the Moonmen are slight of body and feed on whatever comes their way, see Plut. *De Fac.* 940C (cf. the light and frugal creatures of the upper realms, 940D). Aristotle (*GA* 761b21–3) describes animate beings, "fire animals" unknown to us, which are living on the moon and Philoponus *In De Gen. Anim.* p. 160, 16–20 (*Comm. in Arist. Graec.* 14.c [Hayduck]), gives a description of these creatures, which do not eat or drink. In *Char.* 22 Hermes ridicules those who believe that the souls of the dead come up from below and feast on the savoury smoke of cooked food and a honeyed drink. Heraclitus B 98 [D-K] says that the souls can smell in Hades. The frogs might also be an allusion to the frogs of the *Batrachomyomachia*, a work which Lucian seems to have known: see Herrmann (1949) 362 and Introd. III.1.

κάπτουσι τὸν ἀναθυμιώμενον καπνὸν: cf. Aristotle *PA.* 653a4: ἀναθυμιωμένης διὰ τῶν φλεβῶν τῆς τροφῆς; Heraclitus B 12 [D-K]: ψυχαὶ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ὑγρῶν ἀναθυμιῶνται; Plut. *De Is. et Os.* 365D; *De Def. orac.* 432E.

ἀὴρ ἀποθλιβόμενος ... δρόσον: compressed air producing dew; this is analogous to squeezing wine from grapes. The condensation of water from air was postulated by Anaximenes: see A 5 and A 7 [D-K]; Guthrie (1962–81) 1.121–2.

οὐ μὴν ἀπουροῦσίν γε καὶ ἀφοδεύουσιν: similar details appear in Ctesias (ap. Phot. 48b10–14) about the Dog-heads: "when a child is born

to one of them, he has no hole on his backside, and does not excrete; he has buttocks, but the hole is joined together and for this reason they do not excrete" (ὅταν δὲ γένηταί τινι αὐτῶν παιδίον, οὐ τέτρηται τὴν πυγήν, οὐδ' ἀποπατεῖ, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἰσχία ἔχει, τὸ δὲ τρῆμα συμπέφυκε· διὸ ἀποπατοῦσι μὲν οὔ). In Ps.-Plut. *De Plac. phil.* 892A, the Pythagoreans are reported as believing that the creatures of the moon do not produce any excrement, for which reason they are 15 times larger than those on earth (cf. Philolaus the Pythagorean A 20 [D-K]). Their diet is such that it does not leave any residue. Pliny *HN* 11.116 notes that the only animal with no outlet for excrement is the tick, which swells in size. The absence of excretion in humans suggests, according to Burkert (1972) 347, "an existence apart from the body"; he connects this with the Moonmen's diet of smoke (347 n. 51) and the Scythian Shamans (Hdt. 1.202; 4.75). There may be some parody of the gods too: In Aristoph. *Pax* 722–3 Trygaeus worries that the dung-beetle will not get any food up among the gods and Hermes says it will be fed on Ganymede's ambrosia (722–3). The assumption is that gods do not defecate; ambrosia is digested without residue. Ganymede, however, being a mortal, still produces some.

οὐδὲ τέτρηνται: cf. Ctesias (ap. Phot. 48a10–11): οὐ τέτρηται τὴν πυγήν; Aristoph. fr. 480 (Pollux 10.114): ὥσπερ κόσκινον τέτρηται ("he's holed [i.e. wounded] like a sieve"); cf. Aesch. *Ag.* 868.

τὴν συνουσίαν . . . ὑπὲρ τὴν γαστροκνημίαν: they have intercourse in the part behind the thigh and the knee. Cf. *Il.* 13.212 (being wounded on the ἰγνύς). Phanes, the Orphic deity, is said to have his genitals "behind, around the buttocks": *Orph. Fr.* 80 [Kern]. On intercrural copulation between males, see Dover (1989) 98–100; Downing (1991) 141. On the allure of the thighs, see Dover (1989) 70: it was Ganymede's thighs that "set Zeus aflame" (Soph. fr. 320).

φαλακρὸς καὶ ἄκομος: Herodotus 4.23 mentions the Agrippaioi, people who are bald from birth, snubnosed, with long beards and live under a tree; cf. Iambulus (ap. Diod. 2.56.3). In Lucianic settings, the Stoic is easily recognized by, among other things, his closely cropped head: *Vit.Auct.* 20; *Bis Acc.* 20; *Herm.* 18 (phrases such as ἐν χρῷ κουρά, ἐν χρῷ κέκαρμαι, τὸν ἐν χρῷ κουρίαν and ἐξυρημένος τὴν κεφαλήν). The adjective φαλακρός is, strictly speaking, bald on the crown of the head (Arist. *HA* 518a27). Here it is joined with ἄκομος to suggest a complete absence of hair. In *D.Mort.* 6(20).4, all the

dead philosophers are bald, says Menippus. Satyrs are bald in *Deor. Conc.* 4. On the conception of the moon as a bald head, in contrast to the long hair of the sun, see Eisler (1910) 383 n. 3; 403 n. 3. The designation of the bald and hairless as beautiful (καλός), coming as it does immediately after the information about sexual intercourse, continues the homoerotic theme.

μυσάττονται: elsewhere in Lucian this verb is used of disgust at physical abnormalities, for instance, at a skin disease in *D.Meretr.* 11.3; cf. *Somn.* 8; *Prom. Es* 4.

κομητῶν ἀστέρων: the term for a comet (star with long hair); used of dissolute men in Aristoph. *Nu.* 348 and 1100. Lucian plays with the word by suggesting that the inhabitants of comets naturally consider long hair beautiful. He may also be alluding to another group of philosophers, different from the Stoics. In *Tox.* 52, the Scythians and Alans are distinguished by hair-length.

γένεια ... γόνατα: they grow beards just above the knee. The beard is a marker of the philosopher in general, and especially of the Stoic (cf. n. on 2.18 below). See Dover (1989) 71; 87; 144 on the erotic features of beards. Since there is an orifice behind the knee, the beard is perhaps the equivalent of pubic hair or may be an allusion to male buttock hair (cf. Aristoph. *Lys.* 802; Archil. fr. 178; Hdt. 7.216). Henderson (1991) 211 comments that men who are μελάμπυγοι are "virile, manly, and usually heterosexual".

Iambulus described men without hair except on the head, eyebrows, eyelids and the chin (ap. Diod. 2.56.3). In *Eun.* 9, Bagoas, the Eunuch, ridiculed for his beardlessness, said that a he-goat would be given preference over all of them, if a philosopher is to be judged by his beard. In 8, one of the judges said that above all a long beard is necessary to inspire confidence in those who visited him and sought to become his pupils.

ὄνυχας ... οὐκ ἔχουσιν: cf. Antig. 110 (*PG* p. 78 [Arist. *HA* 585a27–8]): women who have too much salt while pregnant give birth to children without nails.

μονοδάκτυλοι: "one-toed"; other examples of fantastic details about fingers and toes are found in *VH* 1.8; *Hist.* 24; *Philops.* 11; and in *Herm.* 74 such anomalies are shown to be the product of overdaring poets (μεγαλοτόλμων ποιητῶν). Cf. πολυδάκτυλος (Arist. *HA* 499b8);

ὀκτωδάκτυλος: Aristoph. *Lys.* 109, of the length of an *olisbos*; Pliny *HN* 7.23 says Megasthenes tells of eight-toed people; Ctesias (ap. Phot. 49b30–3) mentions some in India who have 8 fingers on each hand and 8 toes on their feet.

ὑπὲρ ... οὐρά: cf. Ctesias (ap. Phot. 48a40–b2), who mentions men and women (the Dog-heads) with tails above the haunches like dogs', but bigger and hairier; they have sex on all fours and to do it otherwise is considered shameful; see Bompaire (1958) 663–4 n. 1. The presence of the tail may be another Dionysian connection between the Moonmen and the Satyrs. Some of the Moonmen's features also recall Pan (cf. *Dion.* 2): the feet without toes are like Pan's goat hooves, and the beard above the knee brings to mind his hairy legs. In *Deor. Conc.* 4, the Satyrs are prick-eared, bald, horned and with tails.

κράμβη: on the cabbage and its uses, see Pliny *HN* 19. 136–44; 20.78–96; Diosc. 2.120. The cabbage was widely employed as a remedy (e.g. for loosening the bowels) and was especially effective after drinking (Pliny *HN* 20.84; Diosc. 2.120.1). The Egyptians are said to be "wine-loving" and this is indicated by the fact that they put boiled cabbage first on the menu at their banquets; also, many add cabbage seed to all remedies for drunkenness (Athen. 34C). Hence there was thought to be a great antipathy between the cabbage and the vine (Pliny *HN* 20.84). The cabbage brightens the vision and clears the senses (Diosc. 2.120.1; Pliny *HN* 20.85). It also relieves headaches and disperses sadness (Athen. 34D–E). Pythagoras and his followers were particularly enthusiastic about cabbages (Pliny *HN* 20.78; Diog. Laert. 8.38). Athenaeus 370B–C quotes several examples of people invoking the cabbage for help and adds that it is not surprising that some swore by the cabbage, since even Zeno, imitating Socrates' "By the Dog!" swore by the caper. On the terminology of cabbage-lore (κράμβη, ῥάφανος etc.), see Athen. 34C–D; 369E–F.

The Moonmen fall on their backsides, but they have a cabbage on their bottom to protect them: this is perhaps why it is said to be evergreen; it is an appendage, like a tail, which does not wither. The purpose of a tail is to provide balance, and the Moonmen, who have only one toe and no nails on their feet, seem prone to falling (if they represent the philosophers, this may happen because their arguments are not properly balanced). Lucian is probably making fun of the Stoic ideas of ἀπάθεια and ἀναλγησία, in which the *logos* liberates man from the morally negative emotions (*SVF* 1.422; 434;

499). He parodies the reason for which the Stoics do not feel any "pain": when the Moonmen fall down their protection from pain is attributed to their anatomy rather than to their doctrines. In *Bis Acc.* 21, Epicurus claims that the Stoics are ashamed to admit publicly that they feel pain and wherever they think they can be unobserved and break their own laws, they eagerly glut themselves with pleasure. On the Moon, a place where they are seen only by travellers, they protect themselves from pain by having a cabbage on the bottom.

In Plut. *De Fac.* 924A, we are told that people who live on the opposite hemisphere cling to the earth like woodworms, and we ourselves, when we stand, are not perpendicular to the earth, but at an oblique angle. The falling element receives confirmation in 937F: some think that the inhabitants of the moon, bound fast like so many Ixions by such great velocity, are kept from falling by being whirled around in a circle; cf. Cherniss (1951) 146; (1957) 158–9. There is probably also an allusion to the philosophy of Empedocles here (see n. on 1.22, on the Dendritai). He regarded animal and vegetable beings as essentially similar (B 79; 82 [D-K]; Guthrie [1962–81] 2.209) and speculated on the difference between evergreen and deciduous plants: those which have insufficient moisture lose their leaves, those which have more keep them (A 70 [D-K]; cf. Plut. *Quaest. conv.* 649C on frr. 77–8).

1.24

ἀπομύττονται . . . δριμύτατον: the "bitter honey" is reminiscent of Lucretius' mixture of honey and wormwood (1.936–42), referring to bitter-tasting philosophical doctrines delivered via honeyed poetry. This kind of comparison is apparently traditional: see Sapph. fr. 146 [L-P] for the proverbial "I want neither the honey nor the bee". In Hor. *Sat.* 1.1.24–6, telling the truth by means of laughter is likened to teachers giving little cakes to children: *quamquam ridentem dicere verum/quid vetat? ut pueris olim dant crustula blandi/doctores.* Lucian's method of exposing falsehood in the *VH* follows the same pattern.

Also, Eloquence is often likened to honey, both by Lucian and by others: cf. *Imag.* 13; *Paras.* 44; Hom. *Il.* 1.249; Pind. *O.* 10.98; Aristoph. *frr.* 580A and 581 [*PCG*]. The sweetness or bitterness of honey seems to have been a topic of philosophical interest: in Sext. Emp. *Pyrrh. Hyp.* 2.63, we find the following comments on the reliability of the senses: "Democritus, as we know, on the basis that honey appears bitter to some people and sweet to others, said that

it is neither sweet nor bitter, while Heraclitus said that it is both. And the same account may be given in the case of the other senses and sensory objects" (cf. *ib.* 1.101; *Adv. Math.* 7.365).

In *Bis Acc.* 20, Stoa says that the issue is whether to live like swine with noses to the ground in the enjoyment of pleasure or to follow philosophy in a free spirit and seek *eudaimonia* "in honey and figs". In *Vit. Auct.* 19, honey and figs are connected with Epicurus. Pythagoras had honey for breakfast, according to Porphyry (*Vit. Pyth.* 34); δριμύς is a word used often of philosophers' appearance (δριμὺ ἐνορῶντα, *Catapl.* 3; *Symp.* 16).

For honey as the sweat of the heavens or the saliva of the stars, see Pliny *HN* 11.30. Aristotle *HA* 553b31 says that honey falls from the air, especially at the risings of the stars. Some honey was poisonous or had a peculiar smell which immediately produced sneezing (Pliny *HN* 21.74), while other kinds caused madness (Pliny *HN* 21.77; cf. Diosc. 2.82). Porphyry *De Antr.* 15–19 [67–70] comments extensively on honey as a preservative, equated with nectar and ambrosia, "which the poet talks of pouring into the nostrils to prevent the dead from rotting" (16). Honey is also purificatory and connected with the pleasure of descent into the body (16–17). The Moon is called "the bee" and Kore "Melitodes" or "honeylike" (18). On the bitter element, cf. 18: "Honey has also been made a symbol of death . . . they made bile a symbol of life, hinting that the life of the soul expires through pleasure, but is revived through bitterness" (transl. Lamberton [1983]).

On honey and milk in general, see Usener (1902); Cumont (1949) 33–4 and bibliography. In *VH* 2.13 the two liquids are mentioned together again. Honey and milk have Dionysian connections: Eur. *Bacch.* 709–11; Ov. *Fast.* 3.736–62; Ant. Lib. 10. For strange bodily fluids, cf. the *ichor* of the gods in e.g. *Il.* 5.339–40.

γάλακτι . . . τυροὺς: a detail analogous to sweating milk is reported by Ctesias (ap. Phot. 48b13–14), who mentions people who produce urine like cheese, and a fountain whose water congeals like cheese (ap. Phot. 47a3–4). See n. on 2.3 below on the suggestive meanings of the verbs τυρόω and τυρεύω, connected with trickery and deceit; the connection with the philosophers and their arguments would be obvious. Artemidorus says that dreams of cheese signify deceit and trickery (*Oneir.* 1.72). In Nonn. *Dion.* 40.376–7, "dewy Selene milks her light from the sun".

On milk as connected with the entrance of the soul into *genesis*, see Porph. *De Antr.* 28 [75] and n. on 1.16 (the Milky Way) above. In particular, he connects honey and milk, as Lucian does with the detail that cheese is made by adding a little honey to the Moonmen's high quality milk-sweat: "[Pythagoras] says, those who call forth souls pour libations of milk and honey to them, since they are accustomed to enter γένεσις, because of the lure of pleasure. Also, milk is produced from the time of birth" (transl. Lamberton [1983] 36). In *D.Deor.* 10(4).3, Zeus tells the newly-acquired Ganymede that "instead of cheese and milk, you will eat ambrosia and drink nectar" which suggests perhaps that cheese and milk are quintessentially earthly or mortal foods. The uncultured Cyclopes produce and eat cheese (*Od.* 9.219). In *VH* 2.3 there is an Island of cheese in a sea of milk, and the voyagers come to it after their escape from the whale, i.e. after their second purificatory experience and in their second "return" to the "sea of matter": see n. on 2.3 below.

ἔλαιον ... ὥσπερ μύρον: sweet-smelling oil from onions sounds paradoxical. Onions appear again in *VH* 2.44, along with cheese, as items on the list of ransom demands given to the Boukephaloi. In Aristoph. *Lys.* 798 the eating of onions and their smell on the breath afterwards is a means of discouraging erotic encounters (cf. *Thesm.* 494, where the adulterous wife eats garlic to avoid suspicion). In Plut. *Sept. sap. conv.* 153E, the expression "to tell someone to eat onions and hot bread" apparently means to tell them to weep or to go hang. The "onion perfume" with which the Moonmen smear themselves may represent the abusive yet superficially appealing nature of the argumentative philosophers. The onion was peculiarly associated with the moon, because it was believed that—uniquely among the vegetables—it grew when the moon waned and dried up when it waxed; for this reason some Egyptians did not eat onions, cf. Aul. Gell. 20.8.7 and Plut. *De Is et Os.* 353F.

ἀμπέλους ... χάλαζα: the watery vines are another paradoxical detail; cf. the vinous fish in 1.7, and the milk-vines in 2.3. Another humorous explanation of the hail is found in Aristoph. *Nu.* 1125: hailstones are slingshots of the clouds; in the second parabasis of the play (1115–30), the chorus threatens the judges with rain and hail which will damage their vines and tiles. Such ideas seem to have been a common source of humour: cf. 373, where the rain is said to be caused by Zeus urinating through a sieve. In *Icar.* 26 Zeus orders

hail to be sprinkled over Cappadocia; in *Tox.* 19 hail is mentioned as one of the evils of a storm at sea.

For scientific explanations, see, for instance, Plat. *Tim.* 59E; Arist. *Meteor.* 347b12–349a12; Pliny *HN* 2.152; Sen. *QN* 4.3 (from Posidonius). Hail may be associated with the moon by Lucian as an allusion to the theory of Empedocles that the moon was formed of air which solidified like hail: A 30 and A 60 [D-K]; Plut. *De Fac.* 922C; Cherniss (1957) 51; Guthrie (1962–81) 2.197. The presence of water on the moon may be a humorous contradiction of the Stoic idea that the moon was fiery, a view expressed by Pharnaces in Plut. *De Fac.* 933F and refuted in 940B.

Hail is caused, the narrator observes, by the wind shaking the vines; cf. his pseudo-scientific explanation of the bloody rain which followed the death of Sarpedon in 1.17, and the account of the rain like fine dew in 2.14. The wind has already been associated with the inflated arguments of the philosophers in 1.9; thus here this wind produces an unpleasant and destructive meteorological phenomenon for those down below on the earth. The hail-producing vines recall the episode of the Vine-women, who also pose a threat to the travellers (see above 1.8). The vines with water-grapes also recall the river of wine instead of water in 1.7.

The fact that gods are not mentioned as responsible for hail and like phenomena (such is the case throughout the *VH*) can be seen as a refutation of the Stoic belief in divine providence, and as confirmation of the Epicurean doctrine of divine non-involvement (cf. *Bis Acc.* 2). There are references to signs or signifiers of certain gods: the inscription of Heracles and Dionysus in 1.7; Homer's story of Zeus and the death of Sarpedon in 1.17; the size of Dionysian *phalloi* in 1.30; Poseidon's temple in 1.32, 34 and 38, a sacrifice to him in 2.2, and the story of Tyro in 2.3; the worship of Night by the dreams in 2.33; prayers to the gods after the Dionysian manifestations in 2.41, to the mallow in 2.46, and apparently to the gods in general in 2.47. In no place, however, do the gods themselves intervene in the action of the narrative. Their absence in the *VH* is clearly not accidental, for in several of his other works—especially the *Dialogues*—Lucian treats divinities to his usual satirical scrutiny.

τῇ μέντοι γαστρὶ . . . δέονται: the wallet as a distinguishing feature of the Cynics appears in *Vit. Auct.* 7 and 9. In *Fug.* 14, Philosophy says that they are easy to imitate by putting on a short cloak, attaching a wallet, carrying a staff, and shouting, cf. 32; *Catapl.* 3; *Pisc.* 42, 45.

δασεῖα . . . ὑποδύεται: for the stomach serving as pocket where newly born young animals take refuge, see Ael. *NA* 1.16–17 (fish hiding in the mouth or the womb); Arist. *HA* 566b17–18 (dolphins and porpoises). The scholiast says Lucian is parodying reports about cartilaginous sea-creatures: εἰς τὸ ὑπό τινων περὶ τῶν θαλαττίων σελαχῶν ἱστορούμενον διαπαίζει [Rabe, 20]. One may safely assume Lucian had no knowledge of Australian marsupials.

1.25

Ἐσθὴς . . . ὑφαντή: another class distinction, as in 1.22; cf. the glass anchors in 1.42, glass-buildings in 2.11, and trees of glass in 2.14. Herodotus 7.65 mentions clothing "made of wood" by which he apparently means cotton (cf. ξύλινα ἱμάτια, Ctesias ap. Phot. 48a19), and he also talks about glass coffins (3.24; cf. *De Luct.* 21). The glass (ὑαλίνη) clothes may have been inspired by the Pythagorean conception of the sun as ὑαλοειδῆ: see Philolaus A 19 [D-K]; Ps.-Plut. *De Plac. phil.* 890A on Philolaus; Burkert (1972) 342–3. For the moon as glassy, see Ion of Chios A 7 [D-K]. Anaxagoras defined the moon as an "incandescent stone" (Xen. *Mem.* 4.7.7; Diog. Laert. 2.12; Guthrie [1962–81] 2.307 n. 3). Diogenes of Apollonia saw the moon as an "ignited mass of pumice-like material" according to Guthrie 2.379; cf. A 13–14 [D-K]. In Plut. *De Fac.* 943E, whatever "laxness and diffuseness is remaining to the souls on the moon" is strengthened, so that it becomes "firm and translucent" (διαυγές; cf. the same adjective used of the wine-river in 1.7).

ἐργάζονται . . . ἔρια: Stengel (1911) 36–7 compares the liquified gold in the fountain described by Ctesias ap. Phot. 45a41–b1 to Lucian's malleable brass moistened with water.

περὶ μέντοι τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν . . . λόγου: the narrator is worried that his description of the Moonmen's eyes will seem incredible, but he has no qualms about reporting the strange nature of their ears immediately afterwards. This is a humorous twist upon the historiographical principle that "eyes are better witnesses than ears"; see n. on 1.4 above.

τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς περιαιρετοὺς ἔχουσι: cf. the single eye shared by the Phorkides: Aesch. *PV* 794–5; Apollod. 2.4.2; Pherec. *schol. Apol.* 4.1515a (Wendel) [*FGrH* 3.F11]; Tzet. *Lyc.* 838. On vision motifs in Lucian in general, see Anderson (1976a) 16–17 and nn. 113–14.

ὁ βουλόμενος . . . ὁρᾷ: Zeus gave Lamia the power to take out her eyes and put them back at will: RL vol. 2.1819; Diod. 20.41.3–6; Phil. *VA* 4.25; Aristoph. *Vesp.* 1035; *Pax* 758 (and *schol.* ad loc.). Removal of the eye is also symbolic of the removal of the phallus, which might explain why Aristophanes plays with Lamia's sex in the *Vesp.* In Plut. *De Cur.* 515F–516A, we find that Lamia kept her eyes in a jar when she was at home, but when she went out put them back in, and this is how "we put curiosity into our malice". Antonius Diogenes mentioned that Astraeus was honoured in Aquitania because the change in the size of his eyes announced the phases of the moon (ap. Phot. 109b27–9).

The reference to taking out eyes at will can also be read as an allusion to historians who are intentionally "blind" and who only see what they want to see. In *Vit. Auct.* 27 Pyrrho is blind and deaf, without perception and judgement, an allusion to his teaching that both senses are insufficient to attain knowledge: see Tackaberry (1930) 54–5. In *Herm.* 19, Lycinus wonders how the blind can judge philosophers, since they cannot see them. Hermotimus says he has no interest in them; the better sight one has, the more susceptible one is to the preachings of philosophy. Lycinus argues that the blind are especially in need of philosophy to console themselves.

In *Bis Acc.* 1, Zeus comments that Homer is blind and a fraud and that he described the gods when he could not even see what was happening on the earth. In Diog. Laert. 6.53, there is an argument between Plato and Diogenes, in which the former says that Diogenes has the eyes to see a table, but lacks the νοῦς to see the ideal form of the table. Lucian refers to the "eye of the soul" in *Vit. Auct.* 18 and in this passage—as well as in *Philops.* 16—appears to be thinking of the same ideas as those which are preserved by Diogenes Laertius. See also *Nigr.* 4–5, where Lucian forgets about his ailing eye because the sight of the eye of his soul is improved.

πολλοὶ . . . ὁρῶσιν: a subtle reminder of the distinction between autopsy and hearsay evidence in historiography (cf. *Dea Syr.* 1).

εἰσὶ δ' οἳ . . . πλούσιοι: for ἀποθέτους, cf. *Merc. Cond.* 5. In *Nigr.* 34, the slaves walk in front of their masters to show them the way and in *Tox.* 40, the leader of the Sauromatians demands Dandamis' eyes as ransom for his captured friend. The eyes are the seat of knowledge and control; the store of extra eyes suggests that the rich have

more of the power which is associated with the vision. In *Merc. Cond.* 29, the king is said to have many ears and eyes.

In philosophical terms the rich are those who possess the greatest power of vision; the Platonic idea that sight is the most important of the senses (*Rep.* 507C; *Phdr.* 250D) appears in *De Dom.* 20. In *Rep.* 595C–596E, sight and knowledge are closely associated, and the latter is described in the terminology of the former. On the Moon, the rich may have the greatest power of sight, but, in Platonic theory, it is the "eye of the soul" or the *nous* which offers the best vision. Sharp sight is thus humorously associated with having many eyes, not with the process of education recommended by the philosophers. For the moon as an eye of the evening or the night, cf. Pind. *O.* 3.20; Aesch. *Sept.* 390, and the epithet ὀφθαλμίτης for Athena, as goddess of the moon (Paus. 3.18.2; Ὀπτιλέττις, according to Plut. *Lyc.* 11.8).

τὰ ὦτα . . . ξύλινα ἔχουσιν: Strabo mentions—in a passage criticizing the mythical elements in Megasthenes (15.1.57, cf. 2.1.9)—one-eyed people who have dog's ears; Megasthenes also wrote of men who sleep in their ears. Ctesias (ap. Phot. 49b35–8) described men whose ears are so big that they cover their shoulders, the upper part of their arms, and their back and which touch each other. Pliny goes one better with men who have ears so large that they cover the whole body (*HN* 7.30). Iambulus' islanders have ears with larger openings than usual and valves to close them (ap. Diod. 2.56.4). Theophrastus (*De Sensu* fr. 1.9 (Wimmer) A 86 and B 99 [D-K]) says Empedocles described the ear as a "shoot" or "sprout" (ὄζος) of flesh; perhaps this was in line with his view that there is no essential difference between animal and vegetable life: see n. on 1.22 above on Dendritai and 1.23 on cabbages.

The plane tree was connected with Socrates; he swore by it (*Icar.* 9); cf. *Vit. Auct.* 16; Phil. *VA* 6.19. For the use of plane trees in Plato, see e.g. *Phdr.* 230B and Rowe (1986) 141 n. 230b2–4. Helmbold and Holther (1952) 390 suggest that the plane-tree in the *Phaedrus* "may serve for discourse itself", noting that the Academy was beautified by the tree (Pliny *HN* 12.9). In *Anth. Pal.* 4.1 (the Proem to the Garland of Meleager), poets are compared to various flowers and leaves and in line 17 the song of Pamphilus is unflatteringly likened to plane-leaves, as somehow ugly or misshapen. The plane tree had religious significance: a Bacchic thiasos called the Πλατανιστηνοί is

attested in the first century CE in Magnesia: see Quandt (1913) 162–3 (*Inscr. Mag.* 215a); Merkelbach (1962) 216.

1.26

κάτοπτρον: elsewhere in Lucian's works looking at the world from above is associated with mocking laughter: e.g. *Char.* 6, 13–17; *Icar.* 15–19; *Herm.* 5; cf. Jacob (1981) and Fusillo (1988). In *Icar.* 20 Selene says some philosophers argue that she hangs over the sea like a mirror; in 21, she says she watches their misdeeds. On the moon as a mirror, see Plut. *De Fac.* 936D–937C; Burkert (1972) 342–4. Reyhl (1969) 48–9 suggests Lucian is playing with the Pythagorean doctrine of the Moon as mirror; cf. Ps.-Plut. *De Plac. phil.* 891C (κατοπτροειδὲς σῶμα). In *De Fac.* 920F, Clearchus of Soli, pupil of Aristotle, asserts that what is called the face (which appears on the orb of the moon) consists of "mirrored likenesses", that is "images of the great ocean reflected in the moon". The full moon is the finest and clearest of all mirrors (921A); see further, Cherniss (1957) 40–1; 148–55 and nn. ad loc. Plutarch knows Kore (the Moon) as a reflection—the part of the eye in which is reflected the likeness of him who looks into it (*De Fac.* 942D; cf. Plat. *Phdr.* 255D). Pliny *HN* 37.181, 203 mentions a stone called *selenitis*, apparently a type of transparent gypsum or "specular stone" (*lapis specularis*), which was used by the Romans for glass. He says it contains the likeness of the moon and reproduces the shape of the moon as it waxes and wanes from day to day.

In *Hist.* 51 Lucian recommends that a historian should provide himself with a *gnome* like a clear, shining and properly-centred mirror, i.e. one free from distortion, discoloration and misrepresentation. In *Salt.* 81, the person watching the dancer sees in him "the reflection of his own soul". Arist. (*Rhet.* 1406b) cites as a frigid simile Alcidamas' calling the *Odyssey* a "beautiful mirror of human life"; cf. Plut. *De Lib. ed.* 14A for life as a mirror.

The mirror has Dionysian and Orphic connections (cf. *Orph. Fr.* 209 [Kern]; M. West [1983] 156–7; 163; 172) and the moon is the "mirror of Dionysus" according to Eisler (1910) 657; 687; 692. In Plotinus *Enn.* 4.3.12, the souls, seeing their own images as if in the mirror of Dionysus, plunge into the water, the water of oblivion, and they who drink it go down into the cave of this world; cf. 1.6.8; Rist (1967) 124.

The detail of the narrator seeing his own family and land is paralleled by the encounter with his lamp in Lychnopolis and by the dreams taking the travellers home in their sleep. This is more than simple nostalgia: the initiate is pulled back on occasion to the world he has left behind as he continues on his journey.

φρέατος: the well as a passage of communication between human beings and Zeus appears in *Icar.* 25. Here in the *VH* the well also contains a mirror, a means of observing, as well as hearing, the human world from above. In *Demon.* 22, when a natural philosopher talks about the "antipodean" people, Demonax shows him his reflection in a well and asks: "are those the sort of antipodeans you mean?" In a similar manner perhaps, when the narrator looks into the well and sees the earth, this shows that the sky is the antipodes or simply a reflection of the human world. In *Philops.* 24, Eucrates sees the Underworld through a chasm and is able to make out some of the individuals below. This recalls the chasm in Plut. *De Gen.* 590F, through which the sounds from below (of Hades or the earth) can be heard.

εἰ δὲ κἀκεῖνοι . . . εἰπεῖν: again the narrator behaves like a reliable historian in that he does not assert what he cannot confirm. It may also be an allusion to the Sceptics' and the Academicians' uncertainty concerning the acquisition of knowledge through the senses and reason: cf. *Vit. Auct.* 27; *VH* 2.18; *Icar.* 25; Tackaberry (1930) 51–8; on Lucian's close association with some of the tenets of Scepticism, see B. Schwartz (1914); Tackaberry, *ib.*; Hankinson (1995) 150–2.

εἴσεται ὡς ἀληθῆ λέγω: the assertion of truth is based on an impossibility, and so this confirms the warning of the author in 1.4 that everything which follows should not be believed. The point is that it is very easy for historians to tell lies, because it is difficult to prove them wrong.

1.27–30: LYCHNOPOLIS AND THE RETURN TO THE SEA

With the conclusion of the lunar adventure, Lucian and his companions journey back to the sea and the world below. Their route

takes them past the sun, then to the mysterious City of Lamps, Lychnopolis, and finally past Aristophanes' Cloudcuckooland. After the extensive parody of the philosophers and their argumentative ways in the celestial battle and a Herodotean ethnographic digression, all blended with allusions to lunar eschatology and myths of the soul, the narrative moves on to a transition between the celestial and earthly realm. Again, the parodies and allusions operate on various levels.

Lucian has refused Endymion's offer of his son in marriage in 1.21 and rejected the *eudaimonia* which he promises on the new colony. He wants to return to the sea. In allegorical terms, the souls are eager to go back down to the "sea of matter" i.e. to a physical body. The voyagers leave shortly after looking into the mirror on the moon and seeing the world below. In *VH* 1.30, the return to the sea is immediately followed by the swallowing by the whale, which may symbolize the "cave" of the body in which the soul is imprisoned (Plot. *Enn.* 4.8.3; cf. n. below on the whale and Plato's Cave). The travellers must eventually free themselves from inside the whale; it is then that they reach the Isle of the Blessed. The descent to the sea, then, is also a descent of the soul, after the process of lunar purification, into another body, to be followed by a second process of purification, inside the whale.

The travellers journey past the sun, but do not land, although some of them want to very much. The land is fertile and well-watered and full of all good things, but the wind is not favourable. It is not only that Lucian avoids repeating himself by telling of the inhabitants of the sun as he has just done for the moon. This incident represents the souls being drawn towards the sun, which represents the good in Platonic theory and is the destination of the souls in Plutarch's *De Facie* after their sojourn on the moon. Lucian and his companions, however, are not able or willing to reach the sun, just as they cannot stay permanently in the Land of the Blessed in 2.10.

Instead, they end up in Lychnopolis, where they see lamps being called to account and, if they have deserted their post, being extinguished. This episode draws on various sources: lore about shooting stars, the personification of lamps in poetry and Aristophanes *Eccl.* 1–29, festivals of lamps and rituals of lamp-lighting, the Nocturnal Council in Plato's *Laws*, and the famous story of Diogenes going about with his lamp looking for an honest man. It also continues the parody of Pythagorean beliefs about the soul and alludes to the

general belief that the dead roamed through the skies at night (cf. Capelle [1917] 3; Burkert [1972] 360). The lamps are also souls undergoing judgment and penalties.

Finally, the ship goes past Cloudcuckooland and once again the breeze (πνεῦμα) does not permit a landing. The narrator takes the opportunity, however, to echo the main theme of the *VH*, truth versus lies, by stating his opinion that Aristophanes was a wise and truthful man, no matter what some have written about him.

1.27

ἀνήχθημεν: "we set sail"; the voyagers are "flying" to another adventure or another topic, cf. *Hist.* 49: μεταπετέσθω ἀπ' Ἀρμενίας μὲν εἰς Μηδίαν, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ῥοιζήματι ἑνὶ εἰς Ἰβηρίαν.

δῶρα . . . κατέλιπον: cf. the gifts which Odysseus receives from Alcinous: *Od.* 8.389–97; 439–40; 13.66–8. In *Od.* 8.443–5, Arete warns Odysseus to tie the chest so that he does not lose the gifts and in 13.368–71, on the advice of Athena, he puts them for safe keeping in a cave with a stone covering the entrance. Lucian also parodies here historians who fail to produce concrete evidence of the marvels they describe; we may compare *Philops.* 36, where the storyteller is provocatively asked if he still knows how to turn a pestle into a man, as he did before.

The verb κατέλιπον suggests that the narrator abandoned—rather than simply forgot or lost—Endymion's gifts in the whale. They are not mentioned in the account of the escape from the whale in 2.1. The abandonment of the gifts symbolizes the narrator's wish not to maintain the "friendship" and "alliance" with Endymion (see Nagy [1981] on the gift as a cultural weapon). This is emphasized by the immense joy which they feel upon their return to the water, 1.30. The newcomers cannot blend with the inhabitants of the sky, in other words they will not allow themselves to be drawn into the philosophical arguing and speculation which they represent. There is also the sense that the journey is a one-time-only experience, cf. *Icar.* 34, where there is no possibility for Menippus of a return journey to the heavens. See also n. on 2.1 below, for the loss of the gifts as the abandonment of material possessions on the journey of purification.

The narrator anticipates the story of the whale in a manner reminiscent of a poet or historian dealing with a subject whose basic

outline would be known by the audience. Here, however, the whale is introduced "out of the blue"; he could also be parodying the device of creating suspense by referring to the whale without any further explanation.

συνέπεμψε . . . πεντακοσίων: ring-composition. They are escorted away by the same Horse-vultures who apprehended them on their arrival (1.11). This marks the conclusion of the lunar epsiode and of the psychic journey it represents in allegorical terms. Compare the escort of Phaeacian sailors given to Odysseus by Alcinous in *Od.* 13.71–2. The Horse-vultures return safely, unlike the Phaeacians (13.161–4). The motif of the escort reappears in 2.29, when Nauplius guides the travellers past the Isles of the Wicked.

1.28

τῷ Ἑωσφόρῳ ἄρτι συνοικιζομένῳ: the colonization is already taking place; the narrator alternates between specificity and vaguery in the matter of chronology. This is appropriate in a text which blends so many different genres. Chronology tends to be vague in satirical, parodic or fantastic discourse and also in allegorical or mythical accounts. When the narrator is concerned with the specificities of time (e.g. 1.6; 1.40) Lucian is parodying the discourses of epic poetry or Thucydidean historiography.

ἐν ἀριστερᾷ παρῄειμεν τὸν ἥλιον: Lucian passes the sun on his left, Menippus sees it on his right (*Icar.* 22). On right and left as good and bad, and as the routes taken by the righteous and the wicked souls, see Cumont (1949) 280; Plat. *Rep.* 614C in the myth of Er; *Gorg.* 524A; Arist. fr. 200 [Rose] on the Pythagoreans; *Ev. Matt.* 25.33–4; 41. See further, Burkert (1972) 37 n. 49; 282 n. 25; 365; on right and left in general, see Lloyd (1962).

ἐν χρῷ . . . παραπλέοντες: there is no need to expatiate on the Sun after the lengthy lunar adventure. Photius' summary suggests that Antonius Diogenes did not include a solar trip, but more importantly this is a transitional passage. Lucian does not bother to describe the cave of Calypso in 2.36 either, as Homer's account is readily available (*Od.* 5.57–75).

On "sailing past at close quarters", cf. Thuc. 2.84 (ἐν χρῷ . . . παραπλέοντες), on which Gomme (1956) comments as follows: "a vigorous phrase, not often used" and compares Soph. *Aj.* 786. Lucian himself uses ἐν χρῷ like this elsewhere: τῆς ἐν χρῷ πρὸς τὰ βιβλία

συνουσίας, *Adv. Ind.* 3. Feraboli (1980) wants to read ἐν κριῷ [in the ram, i.e. the constellation of Aries], with the comma after not before. Her argument runs as follows: the boat enters the zodiac from the gateway which is traditionally the constellation of Aries. The well-watered gound, however, is not a traditional attribute of the sun and so this pertains to a greenish land which benefits from the good influence of the climate of Aries. As for Lychnopolis being situated between the Pleiades and Hyades, these stars are part of the constellation of Taurus (which follows Aries in the zodiac) and Aldebaran, the brightest of the stars in Taurus known as Lampadias or Lampauras (Ptol. *Tetr.* 1.9.3; Procl. *Par. Ptol.* 33).

This level of allusive complexity is not unparalleled in the *VH* and would certainly testify eloquently to Lucian's scientific knowledge, but the parody seems a little too tortuous. The term ἐν κριῷ could itself, of course, be a punning variation on the Thucydidean ἐν χρῷ.

οὐ γὰρ ἀπέβημεν . . . οὐκ ἐφῆκεν: this may allude to the episode of the cattle of Helios in *Od.* 12.262–373, which some of Odysseus' companions, like Eurylochus, want to kill, although they are not supposed to. In allegorical terms, perhaps the souls are being drawn towards the sun (as the *nous* is in Plut. *De Fac.* 944E–F) but the wind keeps them away because they are not yet suitable. It is interesting that "many" of the voyagers wanted to go to the sun: on one level it is simple curiosity, on the other the desire of the soul to approach the divine or to go through the purificatory fire. The narrator says nothing about his own feelings; he, of course, has already been to the sun as a captive during the war (1.18). The Nephelocentaurs who come out to the ship, presumably in their role of border-guards, may represent the philosophers who have developed theories about the sun and wish to keep away any "visitors" who might challenge their ideas or attempt to "colonize" the sun themselves with their own doctrines. The incident also recalls the story of Icarus flying too close to the sun and falling to earth.

τὴν χώραν εὐθαλῆ . . . πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν μεστήν: the Ethiopians were especially associated with the sun: see MacLachlan (1992). Images of plenty and fertility among the Ethiopians appear in *Od.* 1.22–7; 4.84; *Il.* 1.423; Stat. *Theb.* 5.427–8. Lucian *Prom.* 17 quotes a phrase from *Il.* 1.423, so he was clearly familiar with such passages. They lived where the sun set and rose: see Mimnermus fr. 12 [West]; Aesch. *PV* fr. 192 (Radt [6 Griffith]); Diod. 3.2.1. They were also especially

close to the gods: Aelian *NA* 2.2 says the gods bathed in Ethiopia. Phaethon was the son of the Ethiopian prince Merops, according to Eur. *Phaeth.* (see Diggle [1970] 7). The sun is also "full of all good things" in philosophical and eschatological terms, through the connections with the symbolism of the sun in Plato's Cave (*Rep.* 508A–509B; 516A) and with the sun as the image of "the desirable and beautiful and divine and blessed" for which *nous* yearns in Plut. *De Fac.* 944E.

1.29

πλεύσαντες ... περὶ ἑσπέραν: the upcoming scene alludes to the Necyia in *Od.* 11 (cf. τὸν κάτω πλοῦν διώκοντες), where Odysseus meets the souls of the dead including his mother's. A favourable wind wafts both Odysseus (11.7) and Lucian, and they both arrive at evening (11.12). The Lamps are souls or accompaniments of souls. The extinction of the lamp is the punishment of the soul. The episode also plays on the tradition of Diogenes the Cynic going about with a λύχνος: Diog. Laert. 6.41; Philo *De Gig.* 34.

Λυχνόπολιν: for the name cf. the Heliopolis of Aristonicus (see Introd. III.2). Athenaeus 699D–701B has a general discussion of λύχνοι, including the comment that Dionysus the younger, tyrant of Sicily, dedicated in the townhall at Tarentum a lampstand capable of holding as many lamps as there are days in the year (700D); cf. also the festival of Lanterns at Sais in Egypt mentioned in Hdt. 2.62. There may be some connection with λυχναψία: the lighting of the lamps at the fall of night was an important part of the cult of the dead, see Cumont (1949) 48; Athen. 701B; *P.Oxy.* 1453.4; *P.Amh.* 2.70.11; "Lychnapsia" *RE* Suppl. 7, cols. 420–3 [Rusch]. On this episode, see also Boll (1907) 7, who connects the ensouled lamps with the Pythagorean idea that in the motes dancing in the sunlight could be seen the movement of souls, or the souls themselves; cf. Arist. *De Anim.* 404a7; Rohde (1925) 375 and 396 n. 40; Guthrie (1962–81) 1.306–7. Boll also suggests (4–5) that Lucian may be drawing upon star-knowledge preserved in astronomical sources like Teucer and a 9th-century arabic work based on it (for the texts of Teucer, see Boll [1903] 16–21; 41–52; for the relevant excerpt of the arabic text of Abu Masar with a German translation, see *ib.* 491–539). A dog-head carrying a lamp, ὁ κυνοκέφαλος ὁ τὰ λύχνα φέρων, is part of Aries in Teucr. (TR) Dekan 1.2–3 (cf. Boll [1903] 216–21). This he connects with the Dog-faced men from Sirius in *VH* 1.16. Lychnos is located

between Pisces and Aries and the bright star Aldebaran is known as Lampadias (Ptol. *Tetr.* 1.9.3). In the arabic version (Taurus, Dekan 1), two lamps are sitting on the shoulder of Orion, speak to him and call him by his name, and Boll connects this with Lucian's speaking lamps whose names are called by the archon (4 n. 3) and, through the equation of Orion with Osiris, with the Egyptian characterization of stars as lamps (4. nn. 3 and 4); see also Boll (1903) 500–1. Bouché-Leclercq (1899) 220 notes that there was an Egyptian belief that the route of the sun was filled with spirits of all kinds and that the most powerful of these, the ones attached to stars or constellations, were called "lamps".

μεταξὺ τοῦ Πλειάδων . . . τοῦ ζῳδιακοῦ: the Pleiades were seven sisters, the daughters of Atlas and Pleione; Orion hunted them, they became pigeons and then Zeus turned them into stars. The Hyades are sisters of, and located close to, the Pleiades; their appearance coincided with a period of rains in the spring; they were initially nymphs, the nurses of Dionysus (Apollod. 3.4.3). The two groups are often associated: Manilius 1.371–2 says "the Pleiades and the Hyades, each a part of the wild Bull, rise towards the North; these are the northern signs".

In allegorical readings, the North is associated with the descent of the soul into *genesis* (see Porph. *De Antr.* 22[71] and n. on 2.1 below), and here the travellers are on their way back down to the "sea of matter". The Pleiades bring ambrosia to Zeus (Athen. 490B) and are associated with both sowing and reaping (489F; cf. Hes. *Op.* 383–4); one of the Hyades is called Ambrosia. See further, RL s.vv. "Ambrosia"; "Pleiades"; "Hyades"; Allen (1899) 386–403; Bouché-Leclercq (1899) 134–5.

The Pleiades and Hyades are "lower" than the zodiac, so the travellers are going down and coming closer to the earthly realm (cf. ἤδη τὸν κάτω πλοῦν διώκοντες). The word ταπεινοτέρα has the meaning of "baser" in terms of morals or character (see LSJ s.v. ταπεινός) and clearly suggests that the travellers are coming closer to the region of the physical body and its desires.

λύχνους δὲ πολλοὺς . . . διατρίβοντας: personification of the lamp is common in Hellenistic epigrams (Asclep. 9 [G-P]), and in Aristoph. *Eccles.* 1–29, there is an opening address to Lychnos, as if to the sun god: cf. Marcovich [1971] , espec. 336; Nilsson (1950) 105–6. Lucian uses this kind of personification in *Catapl.* 27, where the lamp of

Megapenthes testifies against him. On the λύχνος as a symbol of knowledge, see e.g. Numenius fr. 14 [Des Places]; cf. Petty (1993) 121–2.

τοὺς μὲν μικροὺς . . . περιφανεῖς: the same sort of class distinctions as are found on the moon; some are περιφανεῖς, others less spectacular. The term star (ἀστήρ) is used of someone illustrious in Eur. *Hipp.* 1122. The social divisions and hierarchies of the world of Lucian's experience are translated to the fantastic Otherworld and, of course, are also reflected in the traditional eschatologies which he is parodying. On the subversive possibilities of such parody, see Fredericks (1976); Larmour (1997).

λυχνεῶνες: *hapax.*

οὐδὲν ἡμᾶς ἠδίκουν . . . ἐτόλμησεν: feeding and sleeping are two elements also lacking in the Necyia episode in *Od.* 11. *Xenoi* might normally have been expected to experience both. There is something alarming about Lychnopolis just as there is about Odysseus' encounter with the dead. In the *Odyssey*, it is only after sailing away to another spot that they finally rest (11.636–12.7).

ὁ ἄρχων . . . σβεσθῆναι: cf. Rhadamanthus judging the souls in 2.7–10. Each lamp has to defend itself as do the individuals judged by Rhadamanthus. Extinguishing light as a form of punishment picks up the eclipse caused by the wall of clouds in 1.19. On desertion, see n. on 1.16. Punishment for desertion is common in military contexts: see Pritchett (1974) 232–245. The term λιποταξίου γραφή means indictment for desertion; cf. Philo *De Vit. Mos.* 1.327 for a similar use of λιποταξία. In *Nav.* 33 the punishment for military desertion is decapitation. Lucian may be thinking of the strict rules of the Roman army or that of Alexander: see Husson (1970) 77.

In an erotic context, the betraying lover is punished by having his lamp extinguished. Marcovich (1971) argues that the lamp is a substitute for Aphrodite and is witness to the lovers' vows. The lovers keep the lamp alight and extinction of the lamp is associated with the punishment of the lover who has failed to turn up and has broken the vows (Asclep. 10 [G-P]. In Meleager 59 [G-P]) a woman addresses a lamp that has witnessed their mutual vows; a lighted lamp is like the sun, all-seeing (Asclep. 9 [G-P]).

Anderson (1976a) 23 suggests that Lucian has here contaminated two ideas from Aristophanes: the birds' city in the sky, Cloudcuckoo-

town (*Av.* 819), and Trygaeus' meeting with the shooting stars on his aerial journey (*Pax* 832–41). Shooting stars are an obvious point of connection as they have light which suddenly disappears, like the extinguished lamps in Lychnopolis. In *Pax* 837–41, the shooting stars are said to be "wealthy stars walking home after dinner, carrying lanterns". In Plat. *Rep.* 621B, Er reports that the souls which have drunk of the river of Forgetfulness, after they have fallen asleep, "are carried in different directions upward to their birth like shooting stars" (ἄλλον ἄλλῃ φέρεσθαι ἄνω εἰς τὴν γένεσιν, ᾄττοντας ὥσπερ ἀστέρας, cf. *Tim.* 41D–E). The description of the souls in Plutarch's myth of Aridaeus, *De Sera num.* 563F–565E, also exhibits some similarities with Lychnopolis: see Reyhl (1969) 50; Anderson (1976a) 24–5. In the *De Genio* the extinguished stars represent the disembodied souls that have mingled with flesh and passions (591D–F); stars which light up again are souls that float back from the body after death.

For more on stars and lights in the sky, see Ps.-Arist. *De Mundo* 395B: some lights shoot like javelins, others are set in one position in the sky; often there is a variation in the duration of the light, some lasting a long time, some being extinguished at once (τὰ δὲ παραχρῆμα σβέννυται). See also Anaxag. ap. Diog. Laert. 2.9; Ps.-Plut. *De Plac Phil.* 893C; Guthrie (1962–81) vol. 2.309.

The episode also contains some parody of the Nocturnal Council in Plato's *Laws*. In *Leg.* 762B–D penalties for being absent from one's military duties without permission are described and in 943A–D and 949C–D dereliction of civic duty is discussed. In 764A non-attendance at the Assembly results in a fine. The context in the *VH* seems to be primarily civic rather than military. In 961A–B (cf. 968A–C), we are told that the Nocturnal Council meets early in the day or at night to keep watch over the state and secure its salvation. They also inspect the legal institutions of other peoples; some inspectors come back better and some worse. If one of these inspectors is corrupted he shall be forbidden to associate with anyone; if he obeys the archons he shall live as a private person, but if not he shall be put to death (952C–D). Disobedience towards the archon(s) results in the death penalty both in Plato's city and in Lychnopolis. The corruption element is another connection: the extinguished lamps are perhaps those souls that sink down to bodily flesh, just as the "corrupted" inspectors are the ones who are punished.

Various strangers also come to the land and Lucian's group is reminiscent of the first and fourth types of visitors to Plato's imaginary

state. The first type of visitor comes like "migrating birds across the sea just as if they had wings", and must be received at the markets and harbours (952E). The fourth type comes rarely if ever; this man will be at least 50 years old and his purpose must be to view a noble object, not found in other states. He should go as an unbidden guest to the doors of the rich and the wise, and when he has communed by receiving information, he shall take his leave (953C–E). Lucian leaves Lychnopolis after getting information about his house back on the earth.

On the Nocturnal Council, see Morrow (1960) 500–13. There is a reference to Plato's *Laws* in *VH* 2.17; for other Lucianic references to this work, see *Icar.* 24; *Salt.* 34; *Vit. Auct.* 17.

τὸν ἡμέτερον λύχνον . . . διηγήσατο: in Plut. *De Ser. num.* 564A–C, Aridaeus recognizes some of the souls moving about in the sky. The archetypal source of this parody is the scene between Odysseus and Anticleia in *Od.* 11.181–96, when she tells him how things are in his home. Anderson (1976a) 24 also notes that Trygaeus (Aristoph. *Pax* 835) recognized one of the shooting stars whom he encountered as Ion of Chios. In this case it is the lamp of his house that Lucian meets; personified like the bed and the lamp (Λύχνος) in *Catapl.* 27, which testify against Megapenthes. There is a judicial motif in both contexts. The lamp wanted to extinguish itself (ἀποσβῆναι) because of what it saw; its light was polluted by being close to the action. Compare also *VH* 1.26 (where the narrator sees his own family from the moon) and 2.27 (when the narrator sees his own future couch on the Isle of the Blessed). Also in 2.34, many of the dreams are recognized as having been seen long ago at home and some actually take Lucian and company home, give them a sight of family and friends and bring them back the same day. The Isle of Dreams, in fact, forms a doublet with the Lychnopolis episode (see nn. on 2.32–5 below).

With the lamp giving information we may compare Rhadamanthus giving instructions to the narrator in 2.27. Prophecy was another function ascribed to lamps: cf. *Pap. mag. Lond.* 121.667 [IS. 105 Kenyon]; in Argentarius 14 [G-P], the Lamp is called a "second Apollo". See further, Λυχνομαντεία, *RE* XIII cols. 2115–19 [Ganszyniec]; Nilsson (1961) 374–77; 530–4.

Νεφελοκοκκυγίαν . . . Κόρωνος ὁ Κοττυφίωνος: Cloudcuckooland is well known and Lucian does not treat it in detail. It is, however, an

appropriate item for his aerial voyage. The name is suitable in the context of Lucian's parody of philosophers: in Aristoph. *Av.* 818–19, it is described as ἐκ τῶν νεφελῶν καὶ τῶν μετεώρων χωρίων/χαῦνον τι πάνυ. Dunbar (1995) 491 comments that χαῦνον means "vain" or "conceited", as well as "airy", and that the name of the city "combines both ideas—*unsubstantial* and *boastful*"; it is also associated with deceit (5).

The name Κόρων ὁ Κοττυφίωνος may allude to the crow (κορώνη) which appears in *Av.* 5 (Dunbar [1995] 130–1); the crow is long-lived (*Av.* 607–9; Dunbar [1995] 403–4). The *kottuphos* is the blackbird (Arist. *HA* 617a11), also a sea fish (Numen. ap Athen. 305C; Ael. *NA* 1.14–1.15). It appears in Aristoph. *Av.* 306; 806; 1081.

Ἀριστοφάνους . . . ἀπιστουμένου: this associates the narrator with Aristophanes and means that he is being as truthful as the Athenian playwright. On one level, this implies that the story being told is every bit as fantastic and imaginative as the plots of the *Birds* or the *Clouds*; on another, however, it suggests that behind the fantasy there lies a truth to be apprehended, for the fantasies of Aristophanes were presented with the aim of communicating his view of events in the actual world of lived experience. Just as we interpret Cloudcuckooland and the birds symbolically, as defamiliarized versions of humanity, so we must read behind the surface of the *VH* to appreciate its symbolism. On Lucian's indebtedness to Aristophanes, especially the *Clouds*, *Birds* and *Peace*, see Introd. III.1.

PART TWO: INSIDE THE WHALE

1.30–2.1: THE WHALE EPISODE

The motif of being swallowed or entrapped is present again here; cf. the Vine-women earlier, the Ass-legs later etc. On philosophers and fish in Lucian, see Anderson (1976a) 30. In *Pisc.* 48–51, Parrhesiades catches philosopher-fish; in *Merc. Cond.* 3, Timocles swallows the bait; and there are fish-men in *VH* 1.35. The whale is perhaps an enormous, monstrous philosopher-fish.

Photius 112a 5 says Antiphanes [of Berge, late 4th cent. BCE] was one of Antonius Diogenes' sources and Reyhl (1969) 51–2 suggests that Lucian imitated Antonius, who was himself imitating Antiphanes' use of the whale motif. Reyhl goes on to argue that Scintharus and Cinyras are the equivalents of Deinias and Demochares in Antonius' novel. Anderson (1976c) 4 disagrees with this inferral; see also Stephens and Winkler (1995) 104–7. For more information on Antiphanes, see Knaack (1906); Weinrich (1942) 1–44, espec. 15–23 and 123–31 on Alexis' *Hesione*; 31–40 on Pytheas, Antonius Diogenes and Lucian.

In the Whale episode, Lucian is drawing upon the mythical and literary tradition of heroic encounters with sea-monsters. The story of Heracles' rescue of Hesione, the daughter of Laomedon, from the sea-monster (κῆτος) is preserved in a summary of Hellanicus in Schol. AB Gen. 2 Hom. *Il.* 20.146 [*FGrH* 1.4 F26b]. He entered through the creature's mouth and went into its stomach, and destroyed its insides. Lycophron (*Alex.* 33–7) says that Heracles cut up the monster's liver and that his hair was singed off by the heat of its insides (cf. Sext. Emp. *Adv. Math.* 1.255). For the story in general, see Gantz (1993) 400–1. There are also the fragments of Alexis' *Hesione* (*PCG* 2.88–90) dated to the first century CE: see Weinrich (1942) 15–23; 123–31; Luppe (1967) 99–102. The fact that Scintharus is bald (φαλακρός)—although Lucian does not mention this detail until 2.41, when Scintharus suddenly sprouts hair—is a point of connection between Lucian's whale adventure and Heracles' feat (cf. Weinrich [1942] 19 n. 1; 21). There is also the story of Andromeda, who was

saved from a sea-monster by Perseus (cf. Apollod. 2.4.3; Gantz, *ib.* 307–11); there is a reference to Euripides' *Andromeda* at the beginning of the *Hist.* (1).

On sightings of whales, see Arrian, *Ind.* 30; Str. 15.2.12–13; Pliny *HN* 32.10: a whale 600 ft. long and 360 ft. broad. Ps-Callisthenes 3.17 (*Letter to Aristotle from Alexander* in the A version, Gunderson [1980]) mentions the story of an island which turns out to be a whale and plunges into the water an hour after men land upon it. With such phenomena compare Arr. *Ind.* 31.1–6 and Str. 15.2.13 on a mysterious island on or near which people disappear. The swallowing of the narrator and his ship may also owe something to Charybdis and Scylla (*Od.* 12.431–45). In *Od.* 4.95–7, Scylla searches for dolphins and sea-dogs and whatever great beast (κῆτος) she may happen to catch.

C. Coulter (1926) 37–8 connects Lucian's whale story with Sinbad's encounter in the *Thousand and One Nights* with the mountainous fish which is about to swallow the ship (Lane [1840–1] 3.112–13, in the "Seventh Voyage of Sinbad" as related in the Cairo edition). We may also compare the island which turns out to be a giant fish (3.6–7 and 83 n. 8) and the fish 200 cubits long (3.11 and 89 n. 19), in the "First Voyage of Sinbad". Lucian's Syrian location probably brought him into contact with oriental travel-tales such as those which the Sinbad collection preserves. For the story of Jonah and the whale, which is full of philosophical and symbolic import, see Frazer (1918) 3.82–3; Gaster (1969) 652–6. On such tales in general, see Weinrich (1942) 17 n. 3; the following headings in the Folk-motif index of Thompson (1966): F. 910–929.2.1: extraordinary swallowings; F. 911.4: fish or water-monster swallows man (Jonah); F. 911.4.1: fish swallows ship; F. 912: swallowed person kills swallower from within; F. 912.2: swallowed person kills swallower from within by cutting; F. 914: swallowed person is disgorged; F. 915.1: victim pecks on swallower's stomach; F. 921: swallowed person becomes bald.

The Whale adventure is another journey for knowledge, this time a descent, and is related to journeys to the Underworld, which Lucian parodies elsewhere, especially in the *Menippus* and the *Cataplus*. Such journeys are naturally associated with caves, such as the cavern at the oracle of Trophonius in Lebadea (see Paus. 9.39). As Burkert (1972) 155 notes, "in many places there were subterranean installations which presented the Underworld in physical form"; Pythagoras was said to have met with his followers in such locations (Porph.

Vit. Pyth. 9 and 34). The ambiguity surrounding the inhabitants of the whale—who are unsure if they are alive or dead (1.33)—helps to suggest that the cavern of its stomach is analogous to caves on land or the Underworld.

The Whale episode is, more specifically, an allusion to Homer's caves—not only the Cyclops' but other places of confinement of Odysseus—and to the Platonic Cave, which Lucian certainly knew about and refers to in *Char.* 1: Charon asks Hermes to guide him in the world above because otherwise he will be dazed in the light (ἀμβλυώττω πρὸς τὸ φῶς), like the blind who stumble and reel about in the darkness (διολισθάνουσιν ἐν τῷ σκότῳ). In *Nigr.* 4, the visitor to the Platonic philosopher Nigrinus recounts the effect of his words: he was glad to be looking up out of the murky atmosphere of his past life to a clear sky and a great light . . . forgetting the ailment of his eye and becoming sharper-sighted in his soul . . . which has been in a purblind condition until then. In 7, he says he fixes his gaze on Nigrinus as if he were a lighthouse and he were adrift in the sea in the middle of the night. The symbolic significance of caves in general can be seen from the allegorical interpretation in Porphyry's essay *On the Cave of the Nymphs* [*Od.* 13.102–112], espec. 5–10 [59–63]: the cave is both the perceptible and the noetic universe, and a symbol of all the unseen powers. He cites Empedocles B 120 [D-K] and Plato *Rep.* 514A–515B. The Cave is a symbol of the material world in Numen. fr. 31 [Des Places]. The whale, like Calypso's island, for instance, represents the imprisonment of the soul in the body and the struggle to get out of it may be the struggle of the soul to emancipate itself from the material world and its passions: cf. Plut. *De Gen.* 593D–594A. The prisoners in the stomach of the whale, then, represent the souls and this, together with the allusions to the Platonic allegory of the Cave, turns the Whale episode into another psychic journey for knowledge, the second in the *VH*.

In *VH* 1.31, the narrator says that "at first it was dark and we saw nothing, but later when he opened his mouth, we saw a great cavity (κύτος)"; the whale lets in light in the way the fire creates shadows on the wall of the Cave (*Rep.* 514B–515A). In 1.33, the travellers meet with Scintharus and his son, who are not certain what their condition is (οὐδ' ὃ πάσχομεν ἀκριβῶς εἰδότες): they think they are dead, but trust they are alive (τεθνάναι μὲν γὰρ εἰκάζομεν, ζῆν δὲ πιστεύομεν). The travellers agree to help Scintharus and his son against the local tribes so that if they defeat them they will live

there in peace for the rest of their days (1.36); they seem to know that they will be prisoners there for ever. In 1.38, the narrator reports that the cavity "echoed like caves" (ἀντήχει δὲ τὸ κῆτος ὥσπερ τὰ σπήλαια) during the battle with the Tritonomendites and in 1.39, says they were like men living in luxury and unfettered in a great prison they could escape from: ἐῴκειμεν τοῖς ἐν δεσμωτηρίῳ μεγάλῳ καὶ ἀφύκτῳ τρυφῶσι καὶ λελυμένοις. In Plato's Cave the prisoners are tied (514A–B) and are termed "perpetual prisoners" (τοῖς ἀεὶ δεσμώταις ἐκείνοις) in 516E. The immobility of the Platonic prisoners is altered in the *VH* parody, where the voyagers are free to roam about, but are still in their prison. The strange peoples that they fight with in the battle (1.36–9) may somehow allude to the shadows thrown by the light of the fire in the Platonic Cave (514B–515) or to the prisoners' desire to "kill the man who tried to release them and lead them up [out of the Cave into the sunlight]" (517A). In Plato's Cave the inhabitants have been there for a long time, since childhood (514A); in *VH* 1.39 a stay of one year and 8 months is mentioned. In *VH* 1.40, shouting and commotion is heard and that is what brings the narrator and his companions towards the whale's mouth and, from this vantage-point, they see "the most paradoxical of all sights" (ἁπάντων ὧν ἐγὼ εἶδον θεαμάτων παραδοξότατον): this experience is similar to that of the freed prisoner who is dragged out of the Cave, and, because of the light, is initially unable to see anything "real" (οὐδ' ἂν ἓν δύνασθαι τῶν νῦν λεγομένων ἀληθῶν). The prisoner does not know what he sees, and has to get used to the light (515D–516A). Similarly, Lucian's initial incredulity at the sight of men sailing on huge islands gives way to a detailed account of the naval battle. It is only after the travellers have seen the "reality" of the Island fight that they decide they must get out of the whale: the narrator says he could no longer endure living in the whale and, impatient with the delay, looked for a way of escape. The narrator is like the one freed prisoner who, having been in the sunlight, would endure anything rather than live as the prisoners do (*Rep.* 516E). The decision to leave is the narrator's, then there are plural verbs. There is an echo of the Cave, with the picture of the newly-enlightened philosopher going back down to help his fellow-prisoners (516E–517A). While they are not willing to follow him, however, everyone in the *VH* wants to get out of the whale.

As the Whale episode concludes in *VH* 2.–2, the pattern of allusion shifts away from the Platonic Cave to the story of the Cyclops

in Homer and later incidents in the *Odyssey*. The Whale Episode, in fact, falls into two parts—Platonic and Homeric—with the escape element marking the division between book 1 and book 2. In his parodies, Lucian continues the sequence of events in the *Odyssey*, in which the encounter with the souls of the dead is followed by the departure from the land of the Phaeacians and the meeting with Eumaeus: in the Whale episode, the meeting with Scintharus alludes to Odysseus' encounter with Eumaeus, and the Odysseus-Eumaeus-Telemachus grouping is paralleled by that of Lucian-Scintharus-Scintharus' son (later his name is given as Cinyras, 2.25). There also appears to be something of Laertes in Scintharus. Thus *VH* 2 continues the *Odyssey* in sequential fashion, eventually going beyond Homer's narrative: Odysseus and Penelope are both dead and in the Underworld (2.15; 36), and there is a letter to Calypso in 2.24 in which Odysseus describes his killing of the suitors and his own death at the hands of Telegonus. The battle with the warlike tribes in the Whale parallels the fight with the suitors at the end of the *Odyssey*.

In a more specific manner, the Whale episode alludes to Odysseus' adventure with the Cyclops. There are also connections with other places of confinement in the *Odyssey*, for instance the cave of Calypso, where Odysseus is unwillingly held (5.13–15). The references to Poseidon in *VH* 1.32 and 34 establish a connection with the *Odyssey* and with the Polyphemus story. The digging of a tunnel and the setting of the forest on fire are a variation on the plunging of the burned log into the Cyclops' eye, while the propping up of the moribund whale's teeth with beams of wood parodies the wounded Polyphemus' removal of the stone at the entrance to his cave (2.1). The escape from the whale is a passage from one world to another, perhaps from the world of the living into the world of the dead; on another level, it marks the return of the souls to the "sea of matter" and then the beginning of their third journey of purification as they travel to the world of the dead.

1.30

θαυμασίως ὑπερηδόμεθα: "we were marvellously delighted"; cf. ὑπερθαυμάσας in 1.34. This completes the transitional passage, the return to the sea. Allegorically, the souls are drawn back to the earthly realm, represented by the "sea of matter". The voyagers dive in for a swim, revelling in the water: Porphyry *De Antr.* 10 says that the ancients

"believed that souls settled upon the water, which was 'god-inspired' as Numenius says . . . this is why Heraclitus says 'It is a delight, not a death, for souls to become wet' B 77 [D-K], for it is a pleasure for them to fall into matter" (transl. Lamberton [1983] 27). See also Merkelbach (1962) 95; 104; 163; 200–5.

ἔοικε . . . μεταβολή: Stengel (1911) 40 compares Plat. *Leg.* 732D (ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον μεταβολάς); cf. Polyb. 6.3.1; 5.1. Sudden change and unpredictability is a good narrative technique for a voyage, so that the reader is constantly surprised and a high level of interest is maintained. Satirical voyages in particular make frequent use of the sudden and unexpected. The pattern of calm before the storm appears already in *Od.* 9.130–51, where the idyllic description of the island contrasts strikingly with the horrifying encounter with the Cyclops which follows.

πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα . . . κήτη: on sea-monsters in the Indian Ocean, see Pliny *HN* 9.8; Str. 15.2.12–13; Arrian *Ind.* 30.1–6. A whale bigger than a ship's rigging in Gallic ocean, the *physetes*, belches salvage (Pliny *HN* 9.8) and the travellers find a pile of rigging, bones and other merchandise inside the whale in 1.31. S. West (1991) suggests that the time of the whales' arrival may allude to Nearchus' head-on encounter with some whales on his voyage from India to the Persian Gulf in Arr. *Ind.* 30.1–3, and wonders whether "to Lucian's ironic eye the exemplary behaviour of all concerned in the successful execution of the admiral's bold tactic would have seemed a little too good to be true".

κεχηνὸς . . . κατέπιεν: cf. Charybdis in *Od.* 12.431. The voyagers find themselves suddenly in a dark cavity (σκότος . . . κῆτος), inside a huge whale. The whale is an effective image of the earthly tomb for the soul: a whale is a huge mass of flesh, a kind of reification of the association of the earthly realm with the flesh and its desires. In Plot. *Enn.* 1.6.8, we read that "the man who clings to beautiful bodies . . . will sink down to the dark depths and stay blind in Hades".

ὀδόντας . . . φαλλῶν: cf. *Dea Syr.* 16 and 28–9 on Dionysian *phalloi* (300 furlongs, 1800 ft. high) and the Phallonauts in *VH* 2.45.

1.31

σκότος . . . ἑωρῶμεν: cf. σκότος is used of the darkness inside Plato's Cave in *Rep.* 516E. The whale opens its mouth once an hour (1.40),

but the voyagers seem to get used to the dark. The assorted objects lying about inside, at least those listed initially, are what one would expect to find—another instance of Lucian's realistic narrative style.

λάχανα: see n. on the Λαχανόπτεροι in 1.15.

ἐξειργασμένοις: cf. 1.10, where they discover that the moon is inhabited and cultivated. On the island of Polyphemus, the Cyclopes do not cultivate the land (*Od.* 9.122–3).

λάρους καὶ νεοττεύοντα: cf. the giant kingfisher nest in 2.40. Jerram (1879) 58 points out that gulls and kingfishers do not in fact nest in trees.

1.32

ἐθάδες . . . ἐγενόμεθα: Stengel (1911) 49 compares Thuc. 2.44.2: Pericles, speaking of the difficulty of persuading the parents of sons who died that their death was glorious, says that grief is felt for what is taken away after one has become accustomed to it (ἐθὰς γενόμενος). The use of διατριβή may have some philosophical echoes; Lucian uses it elsewhere of the school of Apollonius of Tyana (*Alex.* 5) and of an actual school where teaching took place (*Nigr.* 25).

ἑπτὰ . . . βουλόμενος: cf. *Od.* 10.135–47: after the loss of numerous comrades and ships to the Laestrygonians, Odysseus and his men land on Aeaea, and spend two days and nights lying depressed on the shore; then on the third day, Odysseus goes off to explore the island. The infinitive περισκοπήσασθαι implies having a good look all around and recalls the narrator's curiosity in 1.6 on the Island of the Vine-women; there after three stades they come to the stele of Heracles and Dionysus; here after five stades they run across a temple of Poseidon; both have inscriptions.

στήλας . . . ὕδατος διαυγοῦς: increasingly reminiscent of the Vine-women episode; the adjective διαυγής was used of the wine flowing from the spring in 1.7 (see n. ad loc.).

κυνὸς ὑλακὴν . . . καπνὸς: the first allusion to the philosophers in this episode: the barking dog is suggestive of the Cynics and the smoke has already been associated with the philosophers in the lunar episode (cf. 1.23). The encounter with Scintharus and his son also clearly recalls the meeting of Odysseus and Eumaeus (*Od.* 14): Odysseus first sees his house (5–7) and, as he approaches, the four dogs begin

barking (29–30). Eumaeus addresses the disguised Odysseus (who has a son) as an old man (37); in Lucian's parody, Scintharus is the old man with a son (1.33).

ἔπαυλιν: steading or farm, cf. Hdt. 1.111. In *Od.* 23.358 ἔπαυλοι is used of Odysseus' farm, where he goes to see Laertes.

1.33

προθύμως πρασιάν: the word πρασιά is used in *Od.* 24. 247 of the plots Odysseus finds his father Laertes working in. In conjuction with the use of ἔπαυλις, this brings to mind an Odyssean context and perhaps specifically the meeting between Odysseus and his father; cf. also *Od.* 7.127, where it is used of the garden beds in the land of the Phaeacians (κοσμηταὶ πρασιαί).

πότερον ... δαιμόνων: the form of greeting is vaguely Homeric; cf. *Od.* 6.149, where Odysseus says to Nausicaa: θεός νύ τις, ἦ βροτός ἐσσι; Similar expressions of uncertainty appear in *Il.* 5.183; 6.128; *Od.* 7.199; 10.228. Lucian seems to be echoing especially 16.183, when Telemachus says Odysseus looks like a god (after Athena's magic touches) and 187, where Odysseus says he is not a god, a line which Lucian clearly knew well, for Empedocles quotes it exactly in *Icar.* 13, when he meets Menippus. The meeting between Odysseus and Telemachus is being evoked here as Lucian meets Scintharus. If Lucian is Odysseus, and Scintharus is Eumaeus or Laertes, perhaps the war with the inhabitants of the Whale is akin to the killing of the suitors in the *Odyssey*. The travellers will have little difficulty in routing their opponents, just as Odysseus easily massacres the suitors. Scintharus' question to the travellers as to whether they are sea *daimones* (τῶν ἐναλίων δαιμόνων) recalls Menippus' mistaking Empedocles for a σεληναῖος δαίμων in *Icar.* 13.

θαλάττιοι: in allegorical terms, of the material world: see Introd. II.1 and 2; Porph. *De Antr.* 34–5 [79–80].

τεθνάναι ... πιστεύομεν: Scintharus and his son do not know if they are alive or dead. Initiation is a kind of death followed by rebirth and this is symbolized by the sequence of being swallowed, continuing to live on in the whale's stomach, and the eventual emergence from the creature's mouth, by the same way they came in. The Whale is perhaps a second world of the dead, or a second place of purification, like the moon and the Isles of the Blessed in *VH* 2. On

the uncertainty as to whether they are alive or not, we may compare the vision of Socrates in Plat. *Phd.* 109B–114C: there are three regions, the "true earth" which is above the "sensible earth" or the "hollows", which are themselves above the Underworld. We humans, he says, actually live in the hollows of the earth not, as we think, on its surface, just like someone living half way down in the ocean supposes himself to be living on the surface of the sea.

νεήλυδες: cf. *Il.* 10.434; Hdt. 1.118. The term is also used of a stranger who comes to the city in Plat. *Leg.* 879D.

δαίμων δέ τις . . . ἤγαγεν: the travellers are somehow "brought" to Scintharus and his son so that they will see they are not alone. In the Platonic Cave, an unnamed "someone" (τις) drags the prisoner out of the darkness (*Rep.* 515E) and the verb ἀνάγειν is used repeatedly of "leading [someone] up to philosophy" (517A; 521C; 529A).

καθείργμεθα: imprisoned, and in need of revelation and knowledge, just like the people in Plato's Cave. In *Od.* 10.238, the verb is used of Circe striking men with her wand and penning them in sties.

πρὶν ξενίων . . . μεταδοῦναι: cf. *Od.* 1. 123–4; 3. 69–70; 4.60–1; the standard observations of *xenia* which are emphatically absent from the island of the Cyclopes (*Od.* 9.273–6). Lucian has subtly varied the details of Odysseus' meeting with Eumaeus: the swineherd mentions his grief for his missing master, and says he will first give the traveller food and wine and then hear where he has come from and the things he has endured (45–7). In the *VH*, Scintharus complains of his woes and the narrator asks to hear about them; the old man, however, says he will neither tell nor question the visitors before they have been entertained. After giving them food and wine, he asks about their adventures and then tells his own story (34).

αὐτάρκη: this has philosophical overtones: see Plat. *Pol.* 271D; *Phlb.* 67A; Zeno, fr. 1.6: αὐτάρκη εἶναι ἀρετὴν πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν; Epicur. *Sent. Vat.* 45; fr. 202; *Epist.* 3.130 [Usener]. In Arist. *NE* 10.7.4–5, perfect *eudaimonia* is contemplation, an activity which possesses the highest degree of self-sufficiency; cf. *Pol.* 1253a29; 1261b11. Self-sufficiency is the possession of sufficient material and moral resources needed to make full development possible, without external help. Scintharus' house may be "self-sufficient" but he needs the assistance of the travellers to fight his enemies in the whale (2.35–6). In *Icar.*

30, Zeus criticizes philosophers for singing the praises of virtues, including self-sufficiency (τὸ αὔταρκες) which they do not practise when they are on their own; cf. *Merc. Cond.* 19; *D.Mort.* 21(11).3.

στιβάδας: "mattresses" or "pallets". Epicurus fr. 207 [Usener] said "it is better to be free of fear lying on a pallet than to have a golden couch and a rich table and be full of trouble". The word is used of the lair of a kind of fish in Arist. *HA* 607b21 and frequently of a soldier's bed: Aristoph. *Pax* 348; Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.16; Polyb. 5.48.4. Lucian has the diminutive in *Tox.* 31. The word seems to have funereal connections too: see Alcmaeon fr. 2.2 (Kinkel) [Athen. 460B]. On Dionysian connections with the στιβάς, see Merkelbach (1962) 210 n. 3.

ἔτι δὲ καὶ οἶνον ἐγχέας: "and besides"; cf. Thuc. 1.80.3. This emphasizes the wine and perhaps points to the need for intoxication before telling the story to the hosts; cf. Odysseus at the palace of Alcinous in *Od.* 9.9–10.

1.34

ὑπερθαυμάσας: seems to be one of Lucian's favourite words: *Pro Imag.* 18; *Zeux.* 3; cf. Hdt. 3.3. It means to express great admiration or wonder (at), cf. ὑπερηδόμεθα in 1.30.

Κύπριος: the connection with Aphrodite is appropriate in the case of Scintharus' son Cinyras, given his erotic entanglements with Helen later in the narrative (2.25–7). Cinyras is the king of Cyprus (see n. on 2.25). Interestingly, the name of Scintharus is not revealed until 1.36. The philosopher Demonax (*Dem.* 3), whom Lucian clearly likes, is also from Cyprus.

Σικελίας: see n. on 2.3 below. The ancients placed Scylla and Charybdis near this island.

καὶ μὴν καὶ ἀμπέλους . . . οἶνος: again serves to emphasize the wine. The superlative is rare and late and this is the only occurrence in Lucian. Ollier (1962) 42 notes that excellent wine from wild vines is another extraordinary detail.

πηγὴν . . . ψυχροτάτου ὕδατος: springs, lakes and rivers with cold or hot waters constitute a common theme in the Paradoxographical Corpus: cf. Antig. 133 (*PG* p. 90), 148 (*ib.* p. 96), 154 (*ib.* p. 98). In Iambulus (ap. Diod. 2.57.3), there are warm springs for bathing and

recuperation of energy and cold ones which are very sweet and conducive to good health.

βράγχια: Pliny *HN* 9.19 knows what Lucian does not know (or affects not to)—that whales do not have gills.

ἰχθῦς . . . παντοδαπούς: cf. the philosopher-fish in *Piscator* and the vinous fish eaten on the Island of the Vine-women.

σκάφους . . . ἑπτὰ καὶ εἴκοσι: Scintharus has built himself a *skaphos* paralleling the narrator's *akatos* in 1.5. They have been inside the whale for 27 years.

1.35–39: THE BATTLE INSIDE THE WHALE

Scintharus' neighbours are extremely quarrelsome and unpleasant, unsociable and savage: this introduces the theme of fighting and the quarreling philosophers again, in a parallel to the lunar episode. The inhabitants are said to be oddly formed (μορφὰς ἀλλόκοτοι), like the fantastic hybrid creatures in the armies of Endymion and Phaethon. Lucian had explored the imaginative and symbolic possibilities of fish in the *Piscator*, in which various philosophers are represented by different species of fish. In this dialogue, Frankness (*Parrhesiades*) points out the faults of the fake philosophers, so that people can distinguish the charlatans from their ancient and genuine predecessors. In 5, Frankness begs the philosophers to throw away their stones or keep them for use against those who deserve them. Once upon a time, the dealings of philosophers were more peaceful and they did not use βία or superior strength to win arguments, says Frankness (8). In 17, Truth ('Αλήθεια) appears and Frankness (Παρρησιάδης) tells her that she will not have to fight against ordinary beasts (θηρίοις προσπολεμῆσαι), but charlatans who are difficult to catch out. They always find some way of escape, so that Examination is needed too. In 32, Frankness says that people laid the blame on Philosophy herself whenever they saw one of these false philosophers misbehaving, or blamed the others who died long ago. He goes on to compare philosophers to various animals in similes (34). When they see money, the peace is broken and there is war without truce (λέλυται μὲν ἡ εἰρήνη, ἄσπονδα δὲ κάκηρυκτα πάντα, 36). The dialogue ends with a long passage (45–51) in which the philosophers are compared to fish

by Frankness and Examination: Frankness puts out bait (figs and a little gold, 47) to see which philosophers will bite. There is a fish which looks like a bass (λάβραξ) or rather a gilthead (χρύσοφρυς), but it turns out to be a catfish (γαλεός, implying rapacity). There is also a dog-fish (κύων), suggesting a Cynic, but Diogenes denies any connection with him (48). In 49, a flatfish (ὑπόπλατυς), i.e. a supposed Platonist, comes along, and in 50, a multicoloured beauty with golden stripes (πάγκαλον ... ποικίλον τὴν χρόαν, ταινίας ... ἐπιχρύσους ἔχοντα (one who claims to be an Aristotle). Finally, in 51, Frankness hooks a strong one attracted by the gold, who is pretending to be Chrysippus. Again, of course, the real Chrysippus says the impostor has no connection with his school. The point has been effectively made. The charlatan philosophers can only be distinguished from the real ones by those who know the truth (who proceed with Frankness, Truth and Examination). Appearances are not to be trusted. The connection between fish and philosophers seems to be a favourite of Lucian's: in *Herm.* 65, Lycinus says that they thought they had achieved safety through philosophical knowledge, but in fact "we are like fishermen who often, when they let their nets down and think they have something heavy, haul them in expecting a big catch, and when they have worn themselves out pulling, there appears a stone or a jar full of sand".

The device of comparing philosophers to fish is part of a broader tendency to anthropomorphize fish, or at least to talk about them in human terms; this is quite marked in Oppian and may have been more widespread: Pliny reports a battle between the mullets and the dolphins, as the latter help men to catch fish (*HN* 9.30–2). In a fragment of Archippus' Ἰχθύες [27 *PCG*], there is reference to a treaty between the fish and the Athenians, and a number of names coined from fish, e.g Sepia (cuttle-fish), the Mullet family, and the Crowfish tribe (Korakiones). Lucian may have known this work or others like it; the coinages here resemble those in the lunar episode. He may also have had in mind the stupidity which is imputed to fish and shellfish in Plat. *Tim.* 92B: "and the fourth kind [of creature] that lives in the water came from the most utterly foolish and senseless of men, whom those that remoulded them deemed no longer worthy even of pure respiration, since they had souls polluted with all kinds of wickedness ... whence have come into being the tribe of fish and shellfish and all water creatures, which dwell in the extremities as the penalty for their most extreme stupidity".

The battle inside the whale also has Homeric overtones and is perhaps a parody of the vanquishing of the suitors by Odysseus and Telemachus. Lucian has applied his usual techniques of parodic variation, by making Scintharus reminiscent of both Eumaeus, the noble swineherd, and Laertes, Odysseus' father, and by giving him a son, Cinyras, who later runs off with Helen. In this context, the narrator plays an Odyssean role and leads his forces to an easy victory over the savage fish-people.

γείτονες ... ἄγριοι: the adjective ἄγριος occurs in 1.3 with reference to the people described in Odysseus' Phaeacian stories. In 2.27, Rhadamanthus prophesies that the travellers will encounter people who are ἄμικτοι; this word is used of centaurs in Soph. *Tr.* 1095 and of Polyphemus in Eur. *Cycl.* 429.

Ταριχᾶνες: ταριχεύω means to preserve by salting, pickling or smoking and to embalm (used of mummies in Hdt. 2.86; Plat. *Phd.* 80C); τάριχος means preserved meat; metaphorically of a stupid person, Aristoph. fr. 207 [*PCG*]. Lucian uses ταριχοπωλέω in *Men.* 17, of the kings and satraps selling salt-fish in Hades.

ἐγχελυωπὸν: "eel-faced" or "eel-eyed"; *hapax.* There is a proverbial expression ἐγχέλεις θηρᾶσθαι (Aristoph. *Eq.* 864: Cleon is like an eel-fisher, who makes catches when the mud is disturbed). In *Nu.* 559, Aristophanes complains about the theft of his simile, which Lucian is appropriating again. On eels, cf. Arist. *HA* 592A. In *Tim.* 29, Hermes says Wealth is hard to get a grip of and slips through the fingers like eels.

καραβοπρόσωπον: with the face of a κάραβος (crayfish); *hapax.* This is an appropriate term, given the reputation of the crayfish: Oppian (*Hal.* 2.254) describes it as "darting" (ἀϊκτήρ from ἀΐσσω) and expatiates on its feuds with other fish (321–418); he adds that these three creatures above all are hostile and unfriendly and that alone of all the fish of various tribes they are avengers and slayers of one another (419–21). In *D.Mer.* 14.4, an unattractive Bithynian merchant is said to have the colour of a crayfish (χρόαν οἷος κάραβος).

ὠμοφάγον: like the Laestrygonians who spear Odysseus' men like fish and eat them *Od.* 9.24, cf. *Il.* 5.782; used of the Eurytanes in Thuc. 3.94.5; of centaurs, Thgn. 542; of the Ἀμύκτηρες in Str. 15.1.57.

Τριτωνομένδητες . . . ἧττον: Herodotus 2.46 refers to an Egyptian race which is hybrid, like the Greek Triton or the Egyptian Pan (Mendes); but Lucian's creatures are human on top and γαλεῶται below the waist. Winkler (1980) argues that the γαλεώτης is a sword-fish or a lizard, probably not a weasel as LSJ suggests. On swordfish devouring tunnies and hunting sword-fish off Sicily, cf. Polyb. 34.2.12, who connects this with Homer's account of Scylla pouncing on dolphins and dog fish. With regard to their being "less wicked" (cf. 1.38; 39), Winkler 305 explains thus: "the Author or kindlier Nature has given them the inoperative, weaponless half of the swordfish". As for philosophical connections, a *galeotes* lizard urinated on Socrates in Aristoph. *Nu.* 173. The γαλεός is one of the philosopher fish in *Pisc.* 48: it comes to the hook with its mouth open, having caught the scent of the gold and turns out to be a "dog-fish" (κύων). Diogenes says he does not know him and that he is inedible, ugly, tough and without value.

Θυννοκέφαλοι: in *J. Trag.* 25, Zeus ridicules Poseidon with the words θυννῶδες τὸ ἐνθύμημα ("that's a tunny-like idea"), so "Tunnyheads" may suggest stupidity, at least to Lucian. The alliance between the Tunnyheads and the Crabhands is explained by Ollier (1962) 42–3 as an allusion to a fact reported by Aristotle (*HA* 602a25): that a small parasite like a scorpion acts as a gadfly to the tuna. There is the additionally interesting detail that this creature makes both tunnies and swordfish jump out of the water, something which also happens because of the violence of other fish, especially the mullets (Pliny *HN* 9.54). In 1.37, at the end of the battle here commencing, the helmsman is reported to have been killed with a mullet rib.

Παγουρίδαι: the *pagouros* is the edible crab; see Arist. *HA* 525b5; Pliny *HN* 9.97–9 on crabs. Oppian (*Hal.* 1.281–304) discusses the "shameless tribes" of Πάγουρος "whose lot is numbered with the amphibians" (281–2).

Ψηττόποδες: "Sole-feet"; Jerram (1879) 59 translates as "Flounder-footed". The ψῆττα is the kind of fish known as flounder, sole, or turbot; cf. Arist. *HA* 538a20. Pliny (*HN* 9.57) reports that this fish spends the winter in a hole scraped out of the sea-bottom. In *Pisc.* 49, one of the philosopher fish is a ψῆττα, punningly described as ὑπόπλατυς and then identified as "Platonic"; again he is thrown from the rock on Plato's advice.

1.36

τὰ ὀστᾶ τῶν ἰχθύων: cf. the fantastic weapons in the lunar episode. The Fish-eaters (Ἰχθυοφάγοι) are reported as making inventive use of whale bones and fish in Str. 15.2.1–2.

αἰτία δὲ τοῦ πολέμου: cf. Thuc. 1.99.1. Another instance of what looks like sound historiographical methodology.

προθεσμίας: a day appointed beforehand for e.g. paying tribute; *Nigr.* 27. Cf. *VH* 2. 10, where it refers to the length of stay granted to the travellers in the Isle of the Blessed. The notion of tribute is important also in 1.20, where it is part of the treaty between the Moon and the Sun.

ὑπεροπτικῶς: "contemptuously"; cf. *Nigr.* 1, of the supercilious attitude of the man who has just returned from Rome enlightened by the Platonic philosopher Nigrinus; *D.Deor.* 1(21).1.

Σκινθάρῳ: the old man is finally named as Scintharus. The name may be connected with σκίνθος (diver); cf. Theophr. *HP* 4.6.9 (*urinans* in Pliny *HN* 13.137). There is also the verb σκινθαρίζω, which Hesychius defines as the same as σκανθαρίζω: τὸ γὰρ τῷ μέσῳ δακτύλῳ τὴν μυκτῆρα παίειν δηλοῖ; σκίνδαρος is ἡ ἐπανάστασις νυκτὸς ἀφροδισίων ἕνεκα, i.e a nighttime erection (Hesych. s.v.; cf. Photius, who adds the adverb ἀκολάστως); the σκινδάριον is apparently a diminutive of an unknown fish (Anaxandrides fr. 28 [*PCG*] ap. Athen. 105F).

1.37

πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι: twenty-five in the ambush and twenty-five others including Scintharus and his son; but there were fifty-two at the beginning of the journey (the narrator, the helmsman and the fifty companions), two were lost to the Vine-women, leaving fifty, plus the two new ones found in the whale. Has Lucian made an error? Ollier (1962) 44 thinks so.

φωλεούς: used of the den or lair of animals and especially of the caves of bears (Plut. *De Superst.* 169E; Opp. *Hal.* 2.249). Strabo 11.5.7 uses it of cave-dwellers and Lucian *Philops.* 11 of a snake; cf. *Dips.* 3. In *Icar.* 19 it refers to the mouth of an ant-hill, when Icaromenippus says that the men down below look like ants and their cities like an ant-hill, a comparison reminiscent of the Platonic Cave, with some huddling at the entrance, others going out and coming back in, and so on.

ἀπέθανον ... κυβερνήτης: in *Hist.* 20 Lucian ridicules historians who give silly casualty figures. For the death of the helmsman, a requisite in many voyage-narratives, cf. Phrontis, the helmsman of Menelaus in *Od.* 3.379–83; Tiphys in Apoll. Rh. *Arg.* 2.854–5; and Palinurus, the helmsman of Aeneas in Verg. *Aen.* 5.833–61. Loss of the helmsman, the best Lucian could find, is, one would think, a major matter, but the narrator does not seem especially concerned. Scintharus simply takes over, it emerges in 2.41.

τρίγλης ... μετάφρενον: the τρίγλη is the red mullet; cf. *Pseud.* 29; Opp. *Hal.* 3.431–42. The mode of death may be an allusion to tales of Odysseus' death at the hands of Telegonus (cf. *VH* 2. 35; Lycophr. *Alex.* 795–6; Opp. *Hal.* 2.497–505): he was killed by a spear tipped with a bone or spike from the tail of the poisonous sting-ray. As for the mullet, Oppian *Hal.* 3.435–6 notes that it delights in the rotting bodies of men as food. Aulus Gellius 4.1.13, quoting Plutarch (*Quaest. conv.* 670D), says the Pythagoreans abstained from eating the mullet (τρίγλη).

1.38

τρόπαιον ... δελφῖνος: cf. the trophy after the battle in the sky (1.18); also 1.42, 2.39; 45. The trophy of the dolphin-spine may be an allusion to Arion, who was saved by dolphins: see Hdt. 1.23–24; Luc. *Nav.* 19 (Arion and Melicertes); Bowra (1963). Arion directs the choruses on the Isle of the Blessed in *VH* 2.15. See also n. on 2.39 below. The dried-up backbone may have come from the pile of mangled (συγκεκομμένα) fish in the whale's stomach mentioned in 1.31.

ἀντήχει ... ὥσπερ τὰ σπήλαια: a clear allusion to the Cave; cf. Plat. *Rep.* 514A (οἰκήσει σπηλαιώδει) and 515A (τοῦ σπηλαίου).

1.39

τὰ πολλὰ γυμνασίοις ... χρώμενοι: cf. the athletic image at the beginning of the *VH* and the games on the Isle of the Blessed in 2.22. The word γυμνάσιον is used also of a philosophic school (Aristoph. *Vesp.* 526; Plat. *Gorg.* 493D); Lucian *Nigr.* 19 mentions a γυμνάσιον of *arete*.

καρπὸν συγκομιζόμενοι: metaphorical; the verb is used of storing things in the soul (Xen. *Cyr.* 1.5.12); of storing the words of a philosopher in the memory (*Nigr.* 10); and of compiling history, συγκομιδὴν ἱστορίας (Hdn. 1.1.1).

ἐν δεσμωτηρίῳ μεγάλῳ ... λελυμένοις: cf. the prisoners in the Cave in Plato's *Republic*. The situation of being "free" (λελυμένοις) in a prison which cannot be escaped is paradoxical; it is like the soul which thinks it is free but in reality is not. The openings of the whale's mouth give glimpses of the outside world beyond the internal "reality" of the whale's stomach. The prisoners inside the whale are free to move around, unlike the fettered people in the Platonic Cave, or perhaps like the one who has been untied and is looking around (515C). The adjective ἄφυκτος is used of the chains of death in *De Luct.* 2.

1.40

τῷ δ' ἐνάτῳ ... ἄνοιξιν: Lucian is very precise: on the 5th day of the 9th month of the second year, around the time of the second opening of the whale's mouth. Stengel (1911) 44 compares Hdt. 6.106 (the 9th day of the first part of the month).

ἄφνω: "unawares", "all of a sudden"; the term captures the unpredictability which is a constant feature of the narrator's adventures; just when things appear to be settled, something happens, cf. 1.30, just before the whale swallows the ship.

θόρυβος ... ταραχθέντες: both terms may have philosophical connotations; θόρυβος is used of mental disturbance, for example by Epicurus *Epist.* 3.132 [Usener]: mere opinions [sc. about the gods and death] are the greatest disturbance of the soul; cf. Philod. *Rh.* 2, p. 31, l. 8; p. 40, l. 18 [Sudhaus]; ταράσσω means "to disturb the soul" (Plat. *Phd.* 66A, 103C), and ταραχή means confusion in *Rep.* 602D; *Phd.* 66D (the body breaks in on our philosophical studies with noise and confusion and prevents our beholding the truth). In Epicur. *Sent.* 17, we find that "the just man is most free from trouble, the unjust most full of trouble (ταραχῆς ... μεστά); cf. fr. 519 [Usener].

Stengel (1911) 45 sees here the beginning of numerous verbal echoes of the sea-battle between Corinth and Corcyra in Thuc. 1.48–55, which continue until the end of the book. There are also echoes of the naval battle in 2.83–92 and the battle in the harbour at Syracuse in 7.70–1. Thus, for instance, with βοή . . . θόρυβος he compares Thuc. 1.49.4, πανταχῇ μὲν οὖν πολὺς θόρυβος, and notes that οὐ ῥᾳδίως ἀπελύοντο is an exact echo of Thuc. 1.49.3.

ἀνειρπύσαμεν: in *Men.* 22, the verb is used of Menippus crawling with difficulty up through the mouth [of the cave where Trophonius descended], on his return from the Underworld: χαλεπῶς μάλα διὰ τοῦ στομίου ἀνερπύσας. The verbal echo seems to confirm the suspicion that the Whale is analogous to the Cave, and his mouth to its entrance.

ἁπάντων ... θεαμάτων παραδοξότατον: hyperbolic; such a statement prepares the reader for a truly amazing sight. Lucian is probably parodying the discourse of sensationalist historians and paradoxographers here. The narrator and his companions see "the most paradoxical of all sights" from the mouth of the whale, to which they have crept up; this recalls the freed prisoner who is dragged out of the Platonic Cave, and, because of the light, is initially unable to see anything "real" (οὐδ' ἂν ἓν δύνασθαι τῶν νῦν λεγομένων ἀληθῶν). The prisoner does not know what he sees, and has to get used to the light (515D–516A). Similarly, the narrator's initial incredulity at the sight of men sailing on huge islands gives way to a detailed account of the naval battle. There are also overtones of Odysseus in the Cave of Polyphemus: looking out of it, he would see the giant Cyclopes roaming about.

οἶδα ... ὅμως: feigned reluctance to recount the unbelievable. This is one of the devices which works to make the narrator seem credible and reliable (cf. 1.18; 1.26).

νῆσοι ... τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκείνων: the Island-boats; cf. the Pumpkin-pirates sailing in pumpkin shells with a reed for a mast and pumpkin leaves for sails, and the similar Nut-sailors (2.37), and also the men who sail on their backs using their penises as masts, the Phallonauts (2.45). Immediately after his escape from the Cyclops, Odysseus comes to the floating island of Aeolia, where Aeolus dwells (*Od.* 10.1–3). Thucydides places this in the Lipari or Aeolian islands (3.88.1), on which see n. on 2.4 below. The Island-sailors here are probably part of the same parodic pastiche as the Cork-feet whom the travellers see later, after they have emerged from the whale.

For floating islands in general, cf. Hecat. fr. 284 (*FHG* 1.20); Hdt. 2.156; Dane (1988) 223 n. 21; and there is of course the story of the floating island of Delos (Pind. fr. 87–8). See also Apollon. 37 (*PG* p. 326): ἐπὶ τῆς ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ λίμνης ... νῆσός ἐστιν οἰκουμένη κατάφυτος δένδρεσιν ... ἐπινηχομένη καὶ μεταβαίνουσα πρὸς τὰς τῶν πνευμάτων

φορᾶς. Dionysius of Halicarnassus (1.15.1) mentions an island in a lake near Cutilia which moves when blown by the wind; cf. Pliny *HN* 2.209; Sen. *QN* 3.25.8; see also Pocock (1959) 35–8 on the Planctae and the floating island of Aeolus.

κυπαρίττοις: the evergreen cypress was sacred to Hades and was used at Roman funerals (Verg. *Aen.* 3.64; 6.216). Servius (ad *Aen.* 3. 680) comments that in Attica cypress branches on the door warned visitors that a corpse was inside: *apud Atticos funestae domus huius [cupressi] fronde velantur.* Cypresses are found in *VH* 2.42 (the forest in the sea). They grow around Calypso's cave in *Od.* 5.64. For the use of the cypress in ship-building, see Plat. *Symp.* 618B; Diod. 19.58.3; Veget. 43.4.

πῦρ ... ἐκάετο: on fire for hair or hair on fire cf. *Il.* 5.4 (flames from Diomedes' helmet and shield); Livy 1.39.1; Verg. *Aen.* 2.682–4. In *VH* 2.41 the bald Scintharus grows hair. If these are the Aeolian islands, the fire may be an allusion to their volcanic activity, cf. n. on 2.2–3 below and Pocock (1959) 34–8.

1.41

ἀντίπρῳροι: cf. Thuc. 7.34.5; the term can be used metaphorically: Plut. *De Ira* fr. 148 [Stobaeus 3.20.70], "a wave of anger comes rolling head on"); Soph. *Tr.* 223; Eur. *El.* 846.

συνηράσσοντο ἀλλήλαις: the same verb is used of the teeth of the whale coming together in 1.30.

συμπλεκόμεναι καρτερῶς ... διηγωνίζοντο: wrestling imagery, appropriate for grappling philosophers. The verb συμπλέκω is used of wrestling or grappling in Plut. *Quaest. conv.* 638E and Luc. *Anach.* 29. Lucian uses it in the context of philosophical disputes in *Symp.* 30: Cleodemus wanted "to get to grips with" (συμπλακῆναι) the Stoics, and in 44: the philosophers took sides and pitched in fighting (ἐμάχοντο συμπλακέντες). Cf. also Aristoph. *Ach.* 704, of Thucydides tangling with Cephisodemus. It also has reference to the combining of words to form a rational explanation (Plat. *Theaet.* 202B) and the combining of verbs and nouns to get a conclusion (Plat. *Soph.* 262D). The verb διαγωνίζομαι is used of Theseus and Menelaus fighting over Helen in court in *VH* 2.8; and of argument in Plat. *Gorg.* 456B; cf. 464D.

πολύποδας μεγάλους: cf. Oppian (*Hal.* 4.281–99) describing a *polypus* entwining itself around an olive tree and the accounts in 2.253–320 and 389–421: the *polypus* is combative and cunning; see also Pliny *HN* 9.85.

ἁμαξοπληθέσι: only two other occurrences: Eur. *Phoen.* 1158 (Mastronarde [1994] ad loc. says Lucian's is a burlesque imitation of the Euripidean passage); Aen. Tact. 32.5.

1.42

Αἰολοκένταυρος: Aeolus is the Lord of the Winds in the *Odyssey* and his island floats on the sea (*Od.* 10.1–3). The adjective αἰόλος means quick or nimble and is used of shifty or cunning words (cf. Aesch. *PV* 661–2, αἰολοστόμους χρησμούς); of a lie (Pind. *N.* 8.25); it is mainly poetic (LSJ). The "-centaur" termination recalls the Nephelocentaurs in the lunar adventure and the term Hippocentaur. The mention of Aeolus fits with the evocation of the Aeolian Islands which runs through these chapters and into Book 2.

Θαλασσοπότης: this could refer to Charybdis, who "sucks down the sea" and belches it up again in *Od.* 12.104–6; 235–42.

ἀγέλας . . . ἐληλακέναι: cf. the driving off of Helios' cattle in *Od.* 12.353; Anchises' theft of the horses in *Il.* 5.268. The term ἀγέλη is used of shoals of fish in Opp. *Hal.* 3.639.

νησομαχίας: *hapax*, formed by analogy with ναυμαχία, νυκτομαχία, ἰθυμαχία, τειχομαχία, etc.

ἀγκύραις . . . ὑαλίναις καρτεραῖς: glass anchors: usually they were made of wood or iron (Athen. 208E). There is humour in the notion that glass anchors are strong. Perhaps a pun on ξυλίναις, suggests Harmon in the Loeb translation (1921) 301 n. 1; some mss. actually have this reading (β); cf. the glass clothes on the moon (1.25), and the houses (2.11) and trees and their fruit (2.14) on the Isle of the Blessed. On figurative uses of the anchor, see Péron (1974) 58–66.

ταῦτα μὲν . . . γενόμενα: cf. the end of Thuc. 7.87.6: "this is what happened in the Sicilian campaign" (ταῦτα μὲν τὰ περὶ Σικελίαν γενόμενα). Lucian is an observer of the conflict this time, rather than an active participant as he was in the battle in the sky and in the fight against the other inhabitants of the whale.

The ending of the first book, ταῦτα μὲν τὰ κατὰ τὴν νησομαχίαν γενόμενα, does strike a note of finality. On the other hand, the first book ends with a μέν clause, and the second book opens with a δέ clause: this tends to suggest that originally the *VH* was conceived as a single, unbroken narrative (although Thucydides' eighth book also begins with a δέ clause: ἐς δὲ τὰς Ἀθήνας ἐπειδὴ ἠγγέλθη . . ., 8.1.1). This matter is discussed by Baar (1885) 95; Thimme (1888) 564; G-L (1994) 1502. It is worth noting at this point that the recapitulative conclusion of the *VH* (2.47) ranges over the whole narrative; a distinction is drawn between the adventures as far as the other continent and those on that continent, which are to follow, but not between the events of the first and the second books. In the *Saturnalia*, which clearly falls into two parts, the second section begins (1.19) with a recapitulation of the content of the first (2.1–18). There is no such review of earlier events in the opening of *VH* 2. On the possibility of a preface (*prolalia*) to the second book, such as the *Dionysus* or the *Heracles*, see G-L (1994) 1500–05 and, in more detail, (1995). For parallels in theme and structure between 1 and 2, see Anderson (1976c) 8–11.

The two books are bridged by the allusions to the Aeolian Islands and the general Homeric parody. The Whale episode continues into the second book (2.1–2), but there is a definite change of tone in the opening sentence: Lucian has decided that he can no longer bear to live inside the whale and is going to escape. His strong desire to leave is reminiscent of his emphatic refusal of Endymion's offer to stay in the sky and find *eudaimonia* on the new colony. The escape also parallels the exit of the prisoner from the Platonic Cave and, more generally, the leaving of a place of confinement, whether literal or symbolic. It is at this point that the allusions to the Polyphemus episode in the *Odyssey* come into play.

2.1

μηκέτι φέρων . . . δίαιταν ἀχθόμενος: the urge to get out represents the desire for knowledge and the truth, symbolized by the light outside. The word δίαιτα means way or mode of life and has philosophical overtones in Plat. *Phdr.* 256A–B. The narrator's sudden change of mind starts off the second book and a whole new series of adventures. The word μηχανή alludes to Odysseus the πολυμήχανος.

ὀρύγματος: tunnel; used in the sense of ὄρυξις (digging) here. For hacking a way out of the whale, cf. the story of Heracles' rescue of Hesione: Hellanicus *FGrH* 1.4 F26b; Lycophr. *Alex.* 33–7; 468–78. The attempt to get out of the whale by a different way from that by which they entered recalls the two gates in the Cave of the Nymphs (*Il.* 13.109), a detail which particularly exercises Porphyry (*De Antr.* 3 [57] cf. 22–31 [71–77]). He notes that Plato speaks of "two mouths" in *Rep.* 615D and that Numenius and Cronius make the Gate of Cancer (northerly) the one through which souls descend [into *genesis*] and the Gate of Capricorn (southerly) the one through which they ascend (22 [71]). He concludes after much learned exegesis that "that which has two gates is symbolic of nature and the natural world and the cave in question is endowed not with one entrance but with two . . . the one is appropriate to gods and to the good, the other to mortals and to the less good" (31 [77]), transl. Lamberton (1983) 37–8; see also Buffière (1956) 438–59. In Lucian's parody, the voyagers end up in fact forcing their way out through the entrance, by propping open the whale's mouth (2.2).

ὕλην καῦσαι: the fire in the whale causing its death is analogous to the burning stake which wounds Polyphemus. The words κινδυνεύσομεν . . . ἀπολέσθαι are an echo of *Od.* 9.299–305, where Odysseus realizes that if he kills the Cyclops they will not be able to move the stone in front of his cave and get out.

τἄλλα ἐπιτήδεια: Lucian leaves behind the gifts he received from Endymion, cf. n. on 1.27 above. For the potential significance of this in allegorical terms, cf. Porph. *De Antr.* 34 [79]: "Homer says that all outward possessions must be deposited in this cave and that one must be stripped naked and take on the persona of a beggar, and having withered the body away, and cast aside all that is superfluous, and turned away from the senses, take counsel with Athena, sitting with her beneath the olive, to learn how he might cut away all the destructive passions of his soul" (transl. Lamberton [1983] 39).

τὴν ναῦν . . . Σκίνθαρος: reminiscent of the original preparations for the voyage in 1.5: there are verbal echoes and a new helmsman; there is a sense that the journey is about to begin all over again; this is the prelude to the trip to the land of the Dead which parallels the trip to the moon in the first book.

BOOK 2

PART THREE: THE LAND OF THE DEAD

2.2–4: CHEESE ISLAND AND THE CORK-FEET

2.2

θύσαντες τῷ Ποσειδῶνι: the killing of the whale is analogous to Odysseus' blinding of Polyphemus. The whale is a creature of the sea, Polyphemus is a son of Poseidon. The sacrifice to Poseidon at the trophy on the whale's head recalls the advice given to Odysseus by Tiresias in the Underworld to fix his oar in the earth and make sacrifices to appease Poseidon (*Od.* 11.129–31).

πᾶν ἐπάγη τὸ πέλαγος ... κρυστάλλου: for the frozen sea, cf. Hdt. 4.28 on the Scythian winter, when the sea of Azov (*Palus Maeotis*) freezes and chariots can cross it; Ovid *Tr.* 3.10.29–53; Pliny *HN* 4.104; Strabo 1.4.2 (ἥν [Θούλην] φησι Πυθέας . . . ἐγγὺς εἶναι τῆς πεπηγυίας θαλάττης). Reyhl (1969) 52–3 sees connections with Antonius Diogenes' narrative; cf. Phot. 109a8; 110a37; 111a6; and Anderson (1976c) 5. See also Ps.-Arist. *Mir. Ausc.* 89 [*PG* p. 262]: a lake near Liguria gets covered by so much dust when the etesian winds blow that its surface becomes like solid ground and the people easily spear fish with a three-pronged fork; and *Mir. Ausc.* 168 [*PG* p. 310]: τοῦ δὲ χειμῶνος παγέντες ὑπὸ κρύους ἐν πεδίου σχήματι καθιππεύονται. Plutarch *De Fac.* 941B, in the description of the sea between the island of Cronus and the great continent, says that it is dense and muddy, because of alluvial deposits, which make the sea appear to be congealed (πεπηγέναι; cf. Plat. *Tim.* 25D; *Crit.* 108E–109A).

2.3

νήσῳ μικρᾷ καὶ ἐρήμῃ ... κατατοξεύσαντες: cf. the killing of the cattle of Helios on the island of Thrinacia (ἐν νήσῳ ἐρήμῃ, 351) in *Od.* 12.262–398. This happens shortly after Odysseus' encounter with the souls of the dead in *Od.* 11, while here it comes shortly after the escape from the whale and before the arrival at the Isle of the Blessed. It is striking that the travellers encounter the Ox-heads in

2.44, after they have emerged from the Land of the Dead. The bulls may also be another Dionysian element in the narrative.

ὥσπερ ὁ Μῶμος ἠξίου: Momus was a son of Night (Hes. *Th.* 214), a personification of mockery and criticism, notorious for his fault-finding (*J. Trag.* 19–31; *Icar.* 31; *Hist.* 33). It is said that Momus found fault with Poseidon who made the bull, because he did not put the horns in front of the eyes (so that the bull could see what he was doing with them). In *Nigr.* 32, Nigrinus, in a Momus-like comment, regretted that those wreathed at banquets do not put them below their nose in order to smell sweet odours. In *Herm.* 20, Lycinus says, apparently with some irony, that Hermotimus has developed the ability to see into men's chests, as Momus wanted.

νῆσος . . . λευκὴ πλήρης ἀμπέλων: the island is named as Τυρόεσσα in 2.25. The Cheese Island forms a doublet with the Island of the Vine-women in *VH* 1. On this and other instances of such parallel composition in the *VH*, see Anderson (1976c) 8. The sea of milk echoes the Milky Way in 1.16 and the milk sweat of the Moonmen in 1.24, and has the same symbolic and eschatological connections. Reyhl (1969) 53 suggests that the milk-sea functions here as the Milky Way, on the route to Elysium, and that this island is not on the earth but in the heavenly ocean. See nn. above on 1.16 and 1.24. In Plut. *De Gen.* 590F, the celestial sea is white in colour: τὴν θάλασσαν . . . ἀπολευκαίνεσθαι τὴν γλαυκότητα (cf. n. on the Cork-feet below; Reyhl [1969] 54–5).

Lucian has taken the abundance of vines on the Cyclopes' island (*Od.* 9.110–11) and combined it with the copious production of milk and cheese (219) so as to fabricate an island that has vines bursting with milk. He has utilized the Polyphemus adventure in the *Odyssey* in two different ways: the entrapment in, and escape from, the whale derives from Odysseus' confinement in the Cyclops' cave, while the visit to the Cheese Island is inspired by the description of the island and the enjoyment of its produce (116–69). And, for good measure, he has reversed the order. The Cheese Island is probably an allusion to Sicily, an island celebrated for the quality of its sheep and cattle, which some thought was the abode of the Cyclopes (Mosch. 3.58–61; Thuc. 6.2.1 is sceptical); or to the island of Lipara, one of the seven Aeolian islands lying in the Tyrrhenian sea to the north of Sicily, which was also said to be the place where the Cyclopes lived (Call. *Hymn to Diana* 46–7; Verg. *Aen.* 8.416–20). Λιπαρός means

"fatty" and "greasy" and the noun λιπαρότης is used of the fattiness in milk.

Pausanias 3.19.11–13 describes an island in the Euxine sea at the mouth of the Ister, sacred to Achilles, called the White Island (Λευκή), which Pliny *HN* 4.93 calls *insula Achillea eadem Leuce et Macaron appelata.* Leonymus was wounded in battle by Ajax and the Delphic oracle told him to go to the White island, where he met Achilles and Ajax. Rohde (1925) 537 and 565–7 n. 102 identifies the island with the "White Rock" in Hades (*Od.* 24.11) and gives a wealth of other information. Philostratus (*Heroicus* 211.17–219.6 [Kays]) discusses the island and includes the detail that Achilles and Helen were married on it. Lucian may well be alluding to the White Island here, just before his travellers come to the land of the Dead. See further, Pocock (1959) 72–83. On connections between Helen and this island, see n. on 2.26 below.

τυρὸς μέγιστος: cf. n. on the cheese of the Moonmen in 1.24. In *Lucius* 31, the verb τυρεύω means to contrive by trickery and to concoct mischief or hatch a plot (Dem. *De Fals.* 295; Philo *De Iosepho.* 174). The τυρός here may suggest that the descriptions given by the narrator are full of lies.

Γαλατείας τῆς Νηρηΐδος: the mention of Galatea ("milky-white") together with the Island of cheese recalls Polyphemus' attempts to woo her as well as the Cyclops episode in *Od.* 9. In Theocr. 11.34–7, Polyphemus tries to win Galatea over by the abundance of his cheese and milk. See also Ov. *Met.* 13. 822–30; Anderson (1976a) 97–8 on Polyphemus and *D.Mar.* 1, where Lucian is alluding to Theocr. 11.

Τυρὼ ἡ Σαλμωνέως . . . τιμήν: Tyro is a suitable queen of a Cheese Island. She is the daughter of Salmoneus; she fell in love with the river-god Enipeus but Poseidon took on his appearance and lay with her (*Od.* 11.235–59; Soph. *Tyro*, frr. 648–669 [Radt]; Apollod. 1.9.8). There is a dialogue between Poseidon and Enipeus about Tyro in Lucian's *D.Mar.* 13. The word ἀπαλλαγήν suggests that Tyro is dead (cf. *D.Mort.* 5[18].1) and, since she is the queen, that everyone on the island—although Lucian mentions no inhabitants—is also dead. Odysseus sees Tyro among the dead in *Od.* 11.

2.4

There are seven Aeolian islands, whose names were well known: Στρογγύλη, Εὐώνυμος, Διδύμη, Φοινικώδης, Ἐρικώδης, Λιπάρα and Ἱερὰ

Ἡφαίστου (Diod. 5.7.1, Str. 6.2.11). Their volcanic nature was recognized by Diodorus who mentions eruptions in the past, and continuing disturbances on Strongyle and Hiera. Strabo mentions activity on both Lipara and Strongyle. Lucian probably has the Aeolian islands in mind in his description of the islands which the travellers pass before reaching the Isle of the Blessed. The fire which they see burning up from the islands conforms to Strabo's description of flames running over the surface of the sea around the Aeolian cluster. See further, Pocock (1959) 33–8 on the Planctae, Stromboli (Strongyle) and Lipara. The Cheese Island and the Cork Island, together with the five other islands mentioned as lying off to the right, give a total of seven. The significance of the number seven (see n. on 1.10 above) may have been partly responsible for his choice. In 2.27, Rhadamanthus points out the five Isles of the Wicked, from which smoke is rising.

λειοκύμονος: with low waves, cf. the metaphorical usage in *Scyth.* 11. The verb λειοκυμονέω appears as an interpolation in the Suda.

ἀνθρώπους . . . Φελλόποδες . . . ὁδοιποροῦντας: "Cork-feet". In *Tox.* 20, Euthydicus and Damon float on pieces of cork after being thrown overboard and in *Philops.* 13, Cleodemus the Peripatetic claims that he saw a Hyperborean walking on the water. The incident forms a doublet with 2.45, where some of the Phallonauts sail along sitting on corks.

The Cork-feet do not sink but move fearlessly over the water and may represent souls which do not sink into the material element, i.e. yield to their passions, or souls which are emerging from the "sea of matter". In Plut. *De Gen.* 592A–B, there is an analogy between corks which float on the sea "in a straight and orderly motion" (εὐθεῖαν καὶ τεταγμένην κίνησιν; cf. ἀδεῶς ὁδοιποροῦντας) and the souls which are unyielding to passions and are not dragged along by their errors.

Artemidorus (*Oneir.* 3.16) comments on dreams of walking on the sea: they portend safety for the traveller on a ship, among other things. Reyhl (1969) 55–6 sees this episode as having the character of a vision, which he connects with *VH* 2.35 where Lucian and his companions visit the Isle of Dreams and wake up. He links this with Antonius Diogenes (ap. Phot. 110a10); see Anderson (1976c) 5–6. In Aesch. *Cho.* 505–7, the children keep Agamemnon's memory alive as corks keep a net afloat. Walking on water is a folklore motif and

the Cork-feet are reminiscent of the "miracle" of Jesus walking on the water; cf. Betz (1961) 167. Lucian may be poking fun at the naiveté of such stories (cf. *Peregr.* 13). For other instances and Lucian's possible sources in Jewish or Christian texts, see Betz (1961), espec. 5–11.

ὁδοιποροῦντας ... συνωδοιπόρουν: in *Herm.* 2, the verb ὁδοιπορέω is used of travelling along the road of philosophical enlightenment to *arete* and such travellers are called ὁδοιπόροι. Cf. *Herm.* 13; *D.Mort.* 22(27).7.

εὔπλοιαν ἡμῖν ἐπευξάμενοι: cf. εὐτυχίαν ἐπεύχομαι (Plut. *Galba* 18.9), but generally the verb is not used in a good sense; it has the notion of praying for or imprecating. The noun εὔπλοια is a Homeric echo (it appears in *Il.* 9.362, where Achilles is speaking to Odysseus).

ἡ Φελλώ, ... κατοικουμένη: the round shape of the Cork Island and the use of the adjective στρογγύλος suggest that this is an allusion to the island of Strongyle mentioned above. Pocock (1959) 36 identifies the floating island of Aeolus with Stromboli. The name appears to have been created from φελλός by analogy with the name Τυρώ from τυρός. Pliny *HN* 5.140 mentions an island near Lesbos called Phellusa.

2.4–29: THE ISLE OF THE BLESSED

The Isle of the Blessed corresponds to Homer's Elysium or Elysian Plain situated at the ends of the earth, in which Rhadamanthus dwells and to which Menelaus will be transported (*Od.* 4.561–9). Menelaus is taken there on the basis of his status as Zeus' son-in-law. Helen will of course accompany him (Isocr. *Hel.* 62; Apollod. *Epit.* 6.30). Elysium shares some features with Olympus (*Od.* 6.42–6), Alcinous' idyllic garden (7.112–32), and the island on which Eumaeus was born (15.403–12). In Hesiod's *Works and Days* the Isles of the Blessed, along the shore of Ocean, are inhabited by the ὄλβιοι ἥρωες (167–76); cf. Pind. *O.* 2.71–80; Apoll. Rh. *Arg.* 4.811; Verg. *Aen.* 6.637–78; Pliny *HN* 6.199–205; Plut. *Sert.* 8.2–9.1. For surveys, see "Elysium", *RE* 5.2 (1905) cols. 2470–76 [Waser]; "Μακάρων νῆσοι", *RE* 14.1 (1928) cols. 628–32 [Schulten]; Heubeck et al. (1988) 227; Konrad (1994) 106–110.

Lucian incorporates material about the Isles of the Blessed from

both the early epic tradition and later depictions, in which ethical considerations determine inclusion or exclusion (e.g. Plat. *Phd.* 22A–B): he leaves Herodotus out, for instance, placing him on the Isle of the Wicked (2.31) and includes only six of the Seven Wise men—Periander the tyrant is missing. The placing of philosophers (or not) on the Isles of the Blessed is probably Lucian's own idea and a satirical comment on the exaggerated importance attached to the philosopher, especially in Plato, as well as on the philosophers' sense of their own self-importance. He makes fun of various individuals and schools by connecting their presence or absence with their doctrines: for example, Plato is not there—he is living in his own state—and the Stoics are similarly absent because they are still climbing their hill of virtue (2.17–18). Likewise, he includes personages among the inhabitants who have not been mentioned before. In the *Menippus* the demigods, heroes, heroines, kings and so on are in Hades with everybody else; in the *VH*, however, the Isle of the Blessed is populated only by eminent people. The episode is thus a parodic mixture of tradition and innovation. Reyhl (1969) 53–69 argues for pervasive Pythagorean parody in Lucian's account; Anderson (1976c) 6–7 is sceptical, stressing Lucian's habit of alluding to numerous sources; see also Burkert (1972) 357–68; Fauth (1979).

Lucian blends the tradition of the Isles of the Blessed with the account of the Phaeacian island in the *Odyssey*: with the orchard outside the court, 7.112–32; cf. *VH* 2.5; 2.11–13; the inhabitants live in continual festivity, 7.98–102; cf. *VH* 2.14–16; athletic contests, 8.100–30; cf. *VH* 2.22. The episode continues the parody of Homeric themes established in the narrative of the *VH* up to this point: the meeting with Homer and Odysseus allows for burlesquing of both figures, as well as some humour at the expense of Homeric scholars like Zenodotus and Aristarchus, while the elopement of Cinyras and Helen parodies the events surrounding the beginning of the Trojan War.

The historians Herodotus and Ctesias are seen languishing on the Isle of the Wicked, a fitting fate for the purveyors of untruth. The tour of the Underworld is not unlike an ethnographic survey or a report from far-flung shores by a travel-writer, especially one given to utopian invention. One source of particular interest here is Iambulus, who is mentioned specifically in Lucian's Introduction to the *VH* (1.3). His account of a journey to the Islands of the Sun is summarized by Diod. 2.55–60 (see Introd. III.2; Richter [1888]; Winston

[1976]). Iambulus was captured in Arabia (cf. the αὔρα... εὐδαίμονος Ἀραβίας which wafts the travellers in *VH* 2.25) by some Ethiopians, who wished to use him in a complicated ritual for the purification of their land. He and a companion were sent off in a boat with provisions to sail southwards until they reached a happy island where they would join the blessed inhabitants. The journey took four months over storm-tossed seas but the two travellers eventually reached the Islands of the Sun (so named in 2.59.7). These were described at length, it seems, and some of the details may have been imitated by Lucian: there is fruit all year round (cf. *VH* 2.13), the climate is mild (cf. 2.12), there are hot and cold springs (cf. 2.11; 13), wives are held in common (cf. 2.19) and the islanders sing hymns to the gods (cf. 2.15). The two visitors stayed on the Islands of the Sun for seven years, but were then banished; this recalls the incident where the narrator and his companions in *VH* 2.10 are given permission to stay on the Island of the Blessed for seven months. They too have to leave early, however, because of an incident involving Scintharus' son, Cinyras, and Helen (2.25–7). In both Iambulus' and Lucian's narratives, the suggestion is given that the visitors are a corrupting influence and they are not suitable to stay among the islanders. Iambulus mentions seven islands, all the same size and the same distance from each other; in the *VH*, when the narrator leaves the Isle of the Blessed, he sees five neighbouring islands—and a sixth a long way off—and these, he is told, are the Islands of the Wicked (2.27).

πέντε μέγισται... ἀνεκαίετο: these are the Isles of the Wicked (cf. 2.27). Lucian exploits the darker possibilities of Hades in several other works (*Men.*, *D.Mort.*, *Catapl.*, *De Luct.*). See further, Bompaire (1958) 356–78; 450. The islands are very big and very high: in 2.30 one of them is described and has high cliffs, presumably to prevent the unfortunate inhabitants from escaping. The size may suggest that the wicked are numerous. For the significance of "right" and "left" among the Pythagoreans, see n. on 1.28 above.

2.5

θαυμαστή τις αὔρα... εὐδαίμονος Ἀραβίας: a typical element in such descriptions, e.g. *Od.* 4.567–8; Pindar, *O.* 2.77–79: Μακάρων νᾶσον αὖραι ὠκεανίδες περιπνέοισιν; Ps.-Arist. *Mir. Ausc.* 113 [*PG* p. 280]: ὄρος... Οὐράνιον, παντοδαπῆς μὲν ὕλης γέμον, πολλοῖς δὲ διαπεποικιλμένον ἄνθεσιν, ὥστε τοὺς συνεχεῖς τόπους ἐπὶ πολὺ μεταλαμβάνοντας τῆς εὐωδίας

αὐτοῦ ἡδίστην τινά. The sweet smell contrasts with the bad odour of the moribund whale in 2.1 and the stench of the Isle of the Wicked reported in 2.29. The reference to Herodotus is to 3.113, where he says Arabia emits a divinely sweet perfume. This is the only such citation of Herodotus in the *VH*; in 2.31, he is seen among the liars being punished on the Isle of the Wicked. Arabia is εὐδαίμων because of its fertility (Ollier [1962] 56; cf. *Peripl. Mar. Erythr.* 26). The reference also reintroduces the philosophical concept of *eudaimonia*, which appeared in 1.12. Plutarch (*De Fac.* 943E) comments that Heraclitus was correct in saying that the souls have a sense of smell in Hades (cf. Heracl. B 98 [D-K]).

ῥόδων . . . δάφνης: some of these flowers at least may be mentioned because of their association with death. Graves were decked with roses, cf. Theophr. *HP* 6.6.4–5; Pliny *HN* 21.14–21; Athen. 682B–C. The red-rose meadows of Pindar (fr. 129 [Maehler]: φοινικορόδοις τ' ἐν λειμώνεσσι) are derived from the asphodel meadow of *Od.* 11.539. The narcissus (Theophr. *HP* 6.6.9) and hyacinth (6.8.2) are flowers created by the death of young men in mythology, while the lily (6.6.8) is symbolic of death in Diph. fr. 98 [*PCG*]. In *D.Mort.* 5(18) the remains of famous beauties (like Hyacinthus, Narcissus, Tyro and Helen) are likened by Hermes to dried up and faded flowers.

ἀμπελάνθης: formed by analogy with οἰνάνθη, cf. Aristoph. *Ra.* 1320. This takes us back to the Vine-women episode and the intoxicating role of wine, appropriately enough as we enter the second major fantasy world described in the *VH*. The smell of all these flowers and plants is like a narcotic cloud; cf. the lotus-eater episode in *Od.* 9.84–98; Hdt. 4.177. The perfume performs the same role as the wine in the beginning of Book 1.

ποταμούς τε διαυγεῖς: the same translucent water that was found on the Island of the Vine-women and inside the whale; Betz (1961) compares *Apoc.* 21.21 and 22.1. See n. on 1.7 above.

ἠρέμα: the silence of the area is emphasized either directly (cf. πνέουσαι ἠρέμα τὴν ὕλην and βοὴ . . . οὐ θορυβώδης) or by implication (λιμένας . . . ἀκλύστους); cf. συνεχῆ and ἄθρους below; the continuous sounds symbolize the unchanging nature of paradisaical environments.

ἀπεσυρίζετο: on possible Orphico-Pythagorean overtones of this detail, see Reyhl (1969) 57.

2.6

λειμῶνος εὐανθοῦς: cf. the asphodel meadow in *Od.* 11.539; 24.13; Plat. *Gorg.* 523A. This also alludes to the meadow mentioned in the myth of Er in Plat. *Rep.* 614E–615A: it is a meeting place where those souls "coming from a long journey, as it were, encamped, as at a festival"; acquaintances greet each other and the souls from the earth question those from above about their experiences and vice versa. This is similar to the picture Lucian gives, with the travellers meeting various souls and asking many questions. There is also a generally festive atmosphere on his Isle of the Blessed. In *De Luct.* 9 the meadow is reserved for the many who are neither particularly good nor bad. In Iamb. ap. Diod. 2.57.1, the islanders spend their time in the meadows.

φρουροῖς καὶ περιπόλοις: the περίπολοι were the ephebes who guarded the frontiers in Athens: cf. Aristoph. *Av.* 1177. There are border-guards on the moon too, the Horse-vultures (1.11). In the myth of Er, the mouth through which the wicked souls attempt to exit is guarded by savage and fiery men (Plat. *Rep.* 615E). In *VH* 2.31, Timon of Athens is the gate-keeper on the Isle of the Wicked. In *Men.* 8, Menippus slips past the guard of Aeacus into the Underworld.

ῥοδίνοις στεφάνοις: garlands because of the symposiastic atmosphere, roses because of their associations with death; the rose was the first flower mentioned in the catalogue (see n. on 2.5 above). Cf. the rose-rope which secures the boat of Cinyras in 2.26; the cobweb chains in 1.18. Rohde (1925) 164 and 189 n. 40 notes that the dead and graves were crowned with garlands.

Ῥαδάμανθυς: the son of Zeus and Europa, and one of the three judges of Hades, Rhadamanthus is here the ruler of the island and sole judge, although he has many associates including Aristides the Just (2.10). In *De Luct.* 7, Lucian has Minos and Rhadamanthus judging the good and just souls and, if they come across any bad one, they send them on to the Erinyes. In Plat. *Apol.* 41A, Minos, Rhadamanthus, Aeacus and Triptolemus appear as judges (cf. *Gorg.* 523E; Verg. *Aen.* 6.566–7). For a coherent and detailed summary of the judgement myth in *Gorg.* 523A–527E, together with much other relevant information, see Dodds (1959) 372–76. Rhadamanthus was considered a very just personage (Pind. *P.* 2.73–5; *Leg.* 624B). He is mentioned as an inhabitant of Elysium in *Od.* 4.564 (cf. Pind.

O. 2.75), and Lucian may be recalling this element by having Rhadamanthus as the ruler and judge on the Isle of the Blessed.

For other trial scenes in Lucian, cf. *Catapl.* 23–9; *Bis Acc.* 13; *Pisc.* 14–52; *D.Mort.* 24(30); 25(12). Regarding the order of the cases to be judged in the *VH*—(1) the right of Ajax to consort with other heroes; (2) Theseus and Menelaus' competing over Helen; and (3) whether precedence should be given to Alexander or Hannibal—and the question as to why living beings have come to the Underworld, Reyhl (1969) 60–1 compares the account in Verg. *Aen.* 6: suicides (434–9); unlucky lives, including Dido (440–76); famous warriors (477–93); and the similar question from Charon about the visitors Aeneas and the Sibyl (531–2).

2.7

Αἴαντος τοῦ Τελαμῶνος: Ajax's madness and his hatred for Odysseus—which was the result of Achilles' weapons being given to his rival (see, e.g. Soph. *Aj.*)—is treated in more detail in *D.Mort.* 23(29). This goes back to the encounter between Odysseus and the soul of Ajax in *Od.* 11.542–64. Ajax also appears in the myth of Er (Plat. *Rep.* 620B): his soul there chooses the life of a lion; he did not want human form because of his memory of the judgement about the weapons. Those who have committed suicide, Er says, are not worthy of record (615C), so it is unclear what sort of punishment was meted out to them; perhaps the question about Ajax's fate in the *VH* is motivated by this uncertainty. In 2.23, however, Ajax has recovered his senses and participates in the battle against the souls of the Wicked.

τοῦ ἐλλεβόρου: cf. Theophr. *HP* 9.10.1–4; Aristoph. *Vesp.* 1489; Hipp. *Vict.* 1.35: as a remedy for madness; Hor. *Sat.* 2.3.82: as a cure for avarice. In *Vit. Auct.* 23, Chrysippus suggests that someone cannot become wise before taking the hellebore three times. In *Herm.* 86, however, Hermotimus says he would drink hellebore for the opposite reason from Chrysippus—so as to forget the philosophers' doctrines.

2.8

Θησέως . . . συνοικεῖν: cf. Plutarch (*Thes.* 31), who reports various traditions about the kidnapping of Helen, the most likely of which is that Theseus and Pirithous drew lots to see who would have her as

a wife, and that Theseus, having won, deposited her with his mother. On Theseus' other women, see Plut. *Thes.* 28–9.

2.9

περὶ προεδρίας: a *controversia* subject; cf. *D.Mort.* 25(12), a debate before Minos between the same two figures who are joined by Scipio (Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus). Minos assigns the first place to Alexander, second to Scipio and third to Hannibal. Cf. Plut. *Flam.* 21.4, where Hannibal ranks as follows: Alexander, Pyrrhus, Hannibal; in *Pyrrh.* 8.5, however, the order is Pyrrhus, Scipio, Hannibal. The struggle for primacy between Alexander and Hannibal is humorous in the face of the equality which death brings about: cf. *Men.* 15; *D.Mort.* 5(18).1.

2.10

ἔτι ζῶντες . . . ἐπιβαίημεν: cf. *Od.* 11.93–4, where Tiresias asks Odysseus why he has left the light of the sun and come to behold the dead; cf. 12.21; Verg. *Aen.* 6. 391. In *Catapl.* 25, Aeacus is annoyed at the premature arrival of Cleodemus; in *Men.* 10 there is a humorous twist with Rhadamanthus being frightened by Menippus' arrival; and in *Icar.* 22 Hermes and Zeus are similarly shocked by his visit. The travellers may be dead or alive, it is hard to tell (cf. Scintharus' remark in 1.33). Er is temporarily dead and goes on his journey in this condition (Plat. *Rep.* 614B).

πάντα . . . διηγησάμεθα: cf. 1.12: τὸ πᾶν διηγούμεθα and 1.33: πάντα ἑξῆς διηγησάμην. When a similar expression occurs in Homer it signals a substantial recapitulation (e.g. *Od.* 23.309), which is not the case here.

συνήδρευον . . . Ἀριστείδης ὁ δίκαιος: this parallels the picture of Zeus with Dike seated nearby, e.g. Soph. *Oed. Col.* 1382.

φιλοπραγμοσύνης . . . ἀποδημίας: cf. the motivations for the voyage given in 1.5 and nn. ad loc. The word φιλοπραγμοσύνη is used of Philip of Macedon by Demosthenes (1.14, 4.42) and of Meidias, 21.137; cf. Plat. *Rep.* 549C. It appears only here in Lucian which may suggest that it is used for this precise situation. The word is related to πολυπραγμοσύνη, which has mostly the bad sense of curiosity or meddlesomeness, and is what Socrates is accused of in Plat. *Apol.* 31C.

δοῦναι τὰς εὐθύνας: cf. Aristoph. *Pax* 1187, to render accounts, especially at Athens with reference to the public examination of officials at the end of a term of office. It is also used of the accounts rendered of one's life in a fragment of the comic poet Alexis (fr. 264.8 [*PCG*]).

ἔταξε . . . ἑπτά: cf. Diod. 2.60.1: in the narrative of Iambulus, the stay was ended after seven years and the voyagers were thrown out as having been malefactors; they must have done something so that they had to leave. They were not pure enough and were ejected against their will. In the *VH* they are thrown out because of Cinyras' kidnapping of Helen, before their time is up (2.27). In Plat. *Rep.* 616B, Er reports that the souls stay in the meadow for seven days and on the eighth they have to depart. Odysseus stays on the island of Ogygia for seven years (*Od.* 7.259).

2.11

αὐτομάτων . . . ἐλελύμεθα: possibly an allusion to Xenophon's dream in which the chains seemed to fall off of their own accord (*Anab.* 4.3.8); cf. the chains miraculously coming off in Eur. *Bacch.* 634; 642.

ἡ πόλις πᾶσα χρυσῆ . . . σμαράγδινον: for the gold, see Reyhl (1969) 57–9 on the sun and Pythagorean connections. In Ps.-Call. *Alex. Rom.* 3.28 the City of the Sun is described as having twelve towers of gold and emerald and an altar of gold and emerald in the centre. Ovid (*Met.* 2.1–30) describes the Palace of the Sun, *clara micante auro flammasque imitante pyropo* (2) and his emerald-studded throne, *claris lucente smaragdis* (24). Cf. also the wealthy holy city, Hierapolis, and its temple in *Dea Syr.* 10; 30–2; the statue of the goddess is overlaid with gold and very expensive gemstones of various colours, including sardonyxes, sapphires and emeralds (32).

In Plat. *Phd.* 110D–E Socrates describes the "true earth": "our little precious stones, sards and jaspers and emeralds and the like are but fragments of those there; they say that there everything is like this, or even more beautiful than the stones we possess. The reason is that the stones there are pure . . . the earth itself, they say, is ornamented with these things and moreover with gold and silver and all things of that sort".

The scholiast says Lucian is parodying the New Jerusalem in John's *Apocalypse* 21.11–22.5 [Rabe, 21.19–21]: see Burmeister (1843) 25–6. The city is said to shine like a gem, has twelve gates and foundation stones, is made of gold which is transparent like glass, and is

decorated with gemstones. Jerram (1879) xviii–xix takes up the issue of Lucian's knowledge of christian texts and concludes that similarities between the City of the Blessed and Jerusalem in John's account are "evidence only of a recourse to that common storehouse of Oriental imagery, with its gold and precious stones and all the accessories of barbaric splendour, whence the details of both descriptions were undoubtedly derived" (xix). The whole tone of Jerram's discussion however is curiously exculpatory, reflecting a desire to rescue Lucian from critics who might have found parody of christian material somehow offensive. A more systematic comparison of Lucian's paradise in the *VH* with the city in John's *Apocalypse* is performed by Betz (1961) 92–4. He notes parallels, for instance, between Lucian's river of myrrh (2.11) and miraculous springs (2.13) and the river of living water like crystal in *Apoc.* 22.1; between the permanent season of spring (2.12) and the absence of death and of night and sunlight in *Apoc.* 21.4 and 22.5.

πύλαι . . . κινναμώμινοι: cf. the seven gates of Thebes and the twelve gates of the New Jerusalem in *Apoc.* 21.12. Cinnamon is used for embalming by the Egyptians (Diod. 1.91.6) and may therefore have connections with the afterlife. According to Hdt. 3.111, it grows in the place where Dionysus was reared and is gathered by big birds, from whose nests the Arabians in turn acquire it. Theophrastus (*HP* 9.5.1) records a connection between cinnamon and the sun: when it is brought up from the glens where it grows, lots are drawn with the sun whose portion is then left behind; it bursts into flames when the gatherers leave. Κινάμωμον is also the name of a fabulous Indian bird (Arist. *HA* 616a6; cf. Ael. *NA* 2.34), apparently the cinnamon-gathering one mentioned by Herodotus 3.111. We know that Lucian knew this particular passage of Herodotus well, because he refers to it in 2.5 above. Reyhl (1969) 58 says that cinnamon is associated with the sun-bird Phoenix; it may therefore be symbolic of rebirth.

μονόξυλοι: used in 2.26 of a ship of a single asphodel log (see n. below), the only other occurrence in Lucian. Interestingly the word μονόξυλος "of single trunk" is listed in connection with the phoenix in LSJ.

ἔδαφος . . . γῆ ἐλεφαντίνη . . . βηρύλλου: for ivory as associated with the sun, see Ov. *Met.* 2.3, 23, 24. Beryl is a gem of sea-green colour, cf. also Diod. 2.52.3; the couplet written for the narrator by Homer is inscribed on a slab of beryl in 2.28.

πήχεων ἑκατὸν βασιλικῶν: Herodotus 1.178; 7.117 says the royal cubit was three fingers' breadth longer than the ordinary cubit of 24 (which was c. 22 inches). Lucian is precise in his figures yet again; the royal cubit is appropriate given the palatial scale of the buildings he is describing.

2.12

ἐσθῆτι . . . πορφυροῖς: Iambulus ap. Diod. 2.59.4 has his people wear purple clothes. The spider-webs recall the cobweb plain in 1.15 and bonds in 1.18.

γυμνή τις ἡ ψυχή: cf. Plat. *Crat.* 403B: ἡ ψυχὴ γυμνὴ τοῦ σώματος παρ' ἐκεῖνον ἀπέρχεται; of the soul when it goes to Hades, according to Socrates.

εἰ γοῦν μὴ ἅψαιτό τις: cf. *Od.* 11.204–8 when Odysseus tries to embrace his mother's shade; Verg. *Aen.* 6.292–4.

σκιαὶ . . . μέλαιναι: they are like shadows, cf. Plat. *Phd.* 81D: "shadowy shapes of souls have been seen" and the σκιαί of the dead in *Od.* 10.495. Shadows are frequently invoked to convey the human condition, most famously in Pind. *P.* 8.95 (σκιᾶς ὄναρ ἄνθρωπος) and Aesch. *Ag.* 839 (εἴδωλον σκιᾶς). In *De Luct.* 9 there is a similar description of the dead as shadows without bodies (ἄνευ τῶν σωμάτων σκιαί).

γηράσκει . . . παραμένει: cf. Iambulus ap. Diod. 2.57.5: the islanders live for no more than 150 years, a limited but long period of life.

οὐδὲ νὺξ . . . τοιοῦτο φῶς: cf. *Od.* 11.14–15 and Phot. 166, 109a39 for Antonius Diogenes on the three long nights in Thule. The scholiast says Lucian imitates Antonius here [Rabe, 21.23]. Stengel (1911) 58–9 also compares Plut. *De Fac.* 941D and Theopomp. ap. Aelian *Var. Hist.* 3.18: κατειλῆφθαι δὲ οὔτε ὑπὸ σκότους οὔτε ὑπὸ φωτός, speaking of Anostos [No Return], in the land of the Meropes. For the light quality in such descriptions, see Cumont (1942) 52–3. The term τὸ λυκαυγές (of/at grey twilight) is connected by Heracl. *Hom. All.* 7.11 with Homer's calling the sun (i.e. Apollo, cf. *Il.* 4.101) Λυκηγενῆ because he is the cause of this light. Plutarch (*De Fac.* 931E) says this light is similar to the colour of the sky during eclipses.

ὁ ζέφυρος: the zephyr is associated with the month of March (Lyd. *Mens.* 4.152), which fits in with the statement that it is always spring on the Isle of the Blessed. It is also the west wind: the travellers

have, apparently, been going west. Zephyrs (*Od.* 4.567; Pind. *O.* 2.78 [129]) waft to the Islands of the Blessed the dead who deserve to reach this place. Strabo 3.2.13, commenting on the Homeric passage, remarks that the gentle breezes of Zephyr properly belong to this land, since it is in the west and warm. The zephyr is also a wind which transports souls: Psyche (the human soul) is lifted up by a zephyr in Apul. *Met.* 4.35.

2.13

φυτοῖς ἡμέροις τε καὶ σκιεροῖς: Harmon (1913) in the Loeb edition, 315 n. 1, says Lucian makes a pun, contrasting ἥμερος (cultivated) with σκιερός (fond of darkness), as if ἥμερος came from ἡμέρα and meant "fond of daylight".

ἄμπελοι δωδεκάφοροι: the vines bear fruit 12 times per year; cf. Iamb. ap. Diod. 2.56.7) and other references in Stengel (1911) 59–60, including *Od.* 7. 117–20, on the land of Phaeacians and Hes. *Op.* 174–5 on the land of the Blessed. For the emphasis on wine on the Isle of the Blessed in *VH* 2.13, cf. Plat. *Rep.* 363C–D where Socrates ridicules Musaeus and Eumolpus for their description of the Blessed at a banquet of everlasting intoxication (μέθην αἰώνιον). This seems to be directed at some Orphic beliefs; cf. Plut. *synkr. Cim. et Luc.* 2; *Orph. Hymn* 84.3 [Abel].

ῥοιὰς . . . μηλέας: an echo of the apples of the Hesperides, cf. Hes. *Th.* 215–6; *Orph. Fr.* 34 [Kern]; on apple symbolism, see Littlewood (1967), espec. 163–4 (the apples of the Hesperides) and 174–5 (associations with death).

τρισκαιδεκάφορον . . . μηνὸς . . . Μινῴου: the month of Minos is an invention. It is probably a joke, given the strict rules against excessive drinking which Minos introduced in Crete. The Cretans had the reputation of being the only people, apart from the Spartans, who refrained from drinking-bouts (Plat. *Minos* 320A).

ἀντὶ δὲ πυροῦ . . . ὥσπερ μύκητας: cf. Iamb. ap. Diod. 2.57.2: a reed (perhaps rice) whose soaked fruit is moulded into loaves and baked to produce bread of remarkable sweetness; on mushrooms, see n. on 1.16 above.

πηγαὶ δὲ περὶ τὴν πόλιν . . . οἴνου ὀκτώ: vastly exaggerated numbers of springs, but the narrator's specificity (the five hundred myrrh springs are "much smaller" than those of honey and water) and care with

numbers (seven of milk, but eight of wine) suggest that he is a reliable reporter.

2.14

διακονοῦνται ... οἱ ἄνεμοι: cf. the miraculous banquet scene in Philostratus *VA* 3.27: four tripods stepped forward of their own accord and on them were cupbearers of black brass; the earth strewed grass beneath them; food items came in; two of the tripods flowed with wine and the other two with warm and cold water; decanters and goblets are fashioned from precious stones; the bronze cupbearers drew a mixture of wine and water and passed the cups around.

δένδρα ... πλήρη γίνεται: for glass trees, cf. the glass clothing in 1.25 and 27; anchors in 1.42; buildings in 2.11. For the notion of trees producing unusual objects, cf. Zeno *SVF* 1.112 (proof that the cosmos is ensouled and intelligent): "if melodiously singing flutes were born on an olive tree, you surely would not doubt that some knowledge of flute playing is in the olive tree"; see further, Hahm (1977) 137–8. With the automatically-filling cups, cf. the animated pestle in *Philops.* 35–6 and the mixing-bowl in the story of Baucis and Philemon in Ov. *Met.* 8.679–80.

νεφέλαι ... ὥσπερ δρόσον: cf. n. on 1.20 above, with reference to the dew on the moon.

2.15

ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ δείπνῳ ... σχολάζουσιν: for the same sort of entertainment, cf. *Od.* 9.5–10 among the Phaeacians; Iambulus ap. Diod. 2.59.7 and Hecataeus on the Hyperboreans (Diod. 2.47.3); Theopompus (ap. Ael. *Var. Hist.* 3.18) on the inhabitants of the holy city, Εὐσεβής; and Vergil (*Aen.* 6.656–8) on the souls in Elysium.

τὰ Ὁμήρου ... τὸν Ὀδυσσέα: Homer and his hero are here together. Homer is reclining next to Odysseus, the protagonist of his poem: the creator of the lies together with the porte-parole of his lies. Lucian the author and Lucian the narrator are in a similar relationship. The relaxed Odysseus recalls the picture of his soul in the myth of Er (Plat. *Rep.* 620C): it seeks the quiet life of a private individual and finds one lying in an inconspicuous place.

Στησίχορος ... τῆς Ἑλένης αὐτῷ διηλλαγμένης: Lucian is alluding to a long tradition of animosity towards Helen going all the way back

to the epic cycle and manifesting itself, for example, in the hostile remarks in several of Euripides' plays (*Andr.* 103–4; 248; 594–5; 626; *Tro.* 881; *El.* 213–14). His *Helen*, however, points to a counter-tradition which worked to restore her tarnished reputation, which can be seen in Gorgias' *Encomium of Helen* and Isocrates' *Helen*. The first three lines of Stesichorus' palinode, in which he recanted his negative portrayal of her in a former poem, are preserved in Plat. *Phdr.* 243A–B [Stes. fr. 192, *PMG*]. By recanting, his sight was restored; see further, Austin (1994) 90–117. Proclus criticizes Stesichorus for taking the story of Helen as "a true story like any other", i.e. not a *mythos* (*In Plat. Rem publ.* 1.173.27–8; cf. Lamberton [1986] 196), and argues that the surface is only a screen behind which the truth awaits exegesis.

χορὸς . . . ἀηδόνων: the chorus of swans is perhaps an allusion to Orpheus choosing life as a swan in Plat. *Rep.* 620A. Hecataeus mentioned clouds of swans joining the singers hymning the gods among the Hyperboreans (Ael. *HA* 11.1). The title of one of Lucian's short pieces is *Amber or the Swans* and in it (4–5) he undermines the idea that they have a sweet voice. For the singing of swans, see also Plat. *Phd.* 84E–85B: swans do not sing for sorrow but for joy at their prophetic visions of blessings in other world; Socrates is a "fellow-servant" of such swans (85B). For the chorus of nightingales, cf. Plat. *Rep.* 620A: the soul of Thamyras chooses the life of an ἀηδών; while the song of the nightingale was traditionally Procne's lament for her son Itys (Aesch. *Ag.* 1142–5) it too is interpreted in the same joyful terms as the swan's in *Phd.* 85A. Perhaps Lucian is alluding to the Socratic revision of tradition here.

πᾶσα ἡ ὕλη ἐπαυλεῖ . . . καταρχόντων: cf. the music like Pandaean flutes in 2.5 caused by winds moving the branches of the trees and Zeno's olive tree bearing flutes in n. 2.14 above.

2.16

πηγαί . . . ἡδονῆς: the two springs of laughter and of pleasure may be making fun of Theopompus (ap. Ael. *Var. Hist.* 3.18) who has two rivers flowing round Anostos, one of pleasure, one of sorrow. The trees by the rivers bear corresponding fruit: eating the sorrowful fruit makes a man dissolve away his crying until he dies; eating the fruit of the pleasure tree releases him from all his former cares.

2.17–18

A Catalogue of the famous inhabitants of the Isle of the Blessed: these are divided into four groups, (1) Demigods and Heroes of Troy, (2) Barbarians, (3) Greeks and (4) Philosophers. The catalogue offers another opportunity for Lucian to make fun of philosophers and their doctrines, this time by picturing the most famous ones in the Underworld, or alternatively, absent from it. In this fantasy, Lucian holds the power of judgement over such figures as Socrates, Plato and Chrysippus. He mentions all the major schools except for the Peripatetics, in whom, as Tackaberry (1930) 85–7 demonstrates, he seems relatively uninterested. The philosophers are mentioned last and are given more detailed treatment than the other three groups.

πλὴν γε . . . τοῦ Λοκροῦ Αἴαντος: Locrian Ajax is not present because he seized Cassandra by force (cf. Eur. *Tro.* 69) and was killed by Poseidon for blasphemy.

τὸν Σκύθην 'Ανάχαρσιν: Anacharsis is a philosopher of the 6th century BCE, sometimes included among the Seven Wise Men. He is also the interlocutor of Solon in Lucian's eponymous dialogue about Greek athletic practices.

Ζάμολξιν: a runaway slave from Samos (*J. Trag.* 42), Zamolxis was the lawgiver of the Getae of Thrace (*Icar.* 16; *J. Trag.* 44), although the Getae are Scythians in *Conc. Deor.* 9 and Zamolxis is a Scythian in *Scyth.* 1 and 4. He was reputed to have been a slave of Pythagoras and to have learned things about the heavenly bodies from him. He could make predictions and lived in a cave from where he gave advice as if he were in communication with the gods (Hdt. 4.94–6; Str. 7.3.5). According to Burkert (1972) 109 n. 65, Herodotus' story of Zamolxis influenced the later tradition about Pythagoras, cf. Diog. Laert. 8.2; Porph. *Vit. Pyth.* 14–15; Iambl. *Vit. Pyth.* 173.

Νομᾶν . . . Λυκοῦργον: Numa was the second king and lawgiver of Rome, and Lycurgus the lawgiver and author of the Spartan constitution; they are paired in Plutarch's *Parallel Lives*. Pythagoras was said to have had an influence on Numa (Plut. *Num.* 8.5–21; cf. Burkert [1961] 240–6).

Φωκίωνα καὶ Τέλλον: these two Athenians are both mentioned elsewhere in Lucian's works. Phocion, the 4th century Athenian general and statesman, appears in *J. Conf.* 16: Cyniscus asks Zeus why such

an honest man should have died in such great poverty and want (cf. *J. Trag.* 48). Tellus is mentioned in *Char.* 10 as having the second place in good fortune after Cleobis and Biton, according to Solon (in Hdt. 1.30–1 he is ranked first), because he lived happily and died for his country. See Bompaire (1958) 166 on his appearance in rhetorical exercises and treatises.

τῶν ἐπισήμων . . . ἄνευ Περιάνδρου: in *D.Mort.* 6(20).4, Menippus comments that the Seven Wise Men are the only cheerful and happy ones in the Underworld. In the *VH* Periander is excluded—as are all the tyrants—because of his behaviour as ruler of Corinth (621–584 BCE). The tyrants play a leading role in the revolt of the inhabitants of the Isle of the Wicked; Plato (*Rep.* 615D and *Gorg.* 525D) makes tyrants the representatives of the wicked souls.

Σωκράτη τὸν Σωφρονίσκου . . . Παλαμήδους . . . φλυαρῇ: Socrates talking nonsense with Nestor and Palamedes recalls his vision in Plat. *Apol.* 41A–B of meeting and talking with Homer and other luminaries in the other world. There he says he would be willling to die many times over, "for I personally would find life there wonderful, when I met Palamedes or Ajax, the son of Telamon, or any other men of old who died through an unjust judgement, and compared my experience with theirs". He appears with the same two interlocutors in *D.Mort.* 6 (20) 4 and in *Men.* 18 he goes about with Palamedes, Odysseus and Nestor and any other babbling (λάλος) corpse. For Socrates with Hyacinthus, Narcissus, Hylas and others, cf. *D.Mort.* 6 (20) 6, where he is seen associating with Charmides and Phaedrus, and Menippus comments on the fact that he still has an eye for beauties. On Socrates in Lucian in general, see Tackaberry (1930) 25–7; Bompaire (1958) 185–7.

Ὑάκινθος . . . διήλεγχεν: in *Nav.* 43, Hyacinthus, Hylas and Phaos of Chios are named as heroes of Greek mythology famous for their beauty, cf. *D.Mort.* 5(18).1. For διήλεγχεν, cf. the use of the same verb for Socrates' activity in the Underworld in *Men.* 18; cf. *VH* 2.19.

Πλάτων δὲ μόνος . . . συνέγραψεν: cf. *Philops.* 24: Eucrates did not recognize Plato among the dead souls. In *Vit. Auct.* 17, the Academic says that Plato lives in a city he has created (ἀναπλάσας) for himself, enacting his own laws. Nonetheless, the society on the Isle of the Blessed has some Platonic features (e.g. women in common, 2.19). In 2.18, the Academics are not in the Isle of the Blessed, because

they cannot agree on whether this island exists or not. Even Plato—who in Lucian's other works is praised for his noble views on freedom, his excellence and his inspiration (*Pro Laps.* 4; *Par.* 34; *Pro Imag.* 28)—is held up to some ridicule here. In *Philops.* 16, Lucian mentions that one has to have sharp eyes in order to see Plato's Forms. In *Pisc.* 18, Plato does not want Truth to testify against him as he fears the consequences. Lucian makes frequent use of the Platonic dialogue form and Socratic irony, most successfully in his *Hermotimus*; see further, Tackaberry (1930) 62–85; Caster (1937) 32–40.

2.18

οἱ μέντοι ἀμφ' Ἀρίστιππόν ... συμποτικώτατοι: on Aristippus, see Tackaberry (1930) 25; on Epicurus, id. 46–7 and Caster (1937) 84–106. Lucian appears to express some favour towards these two elsewhere: in *Demon.* 62, for instance, Demonax says he loves Aristippus (cf. *Bis Acc.* 13; 23; *D.Mort.* 6[20].5). In *Vit. Auct.* 12, Aristippus is characterized as debauched: he comes in wearing a purple cloak and a garland, drunk, and reeking of myrrh; Hermes says he is satisfactory to drink with, a connoisseur of cakes and a very good cook. In *Vit. Auct.* 19: Hermes says Epicurus is a pupil of the laugher (Democritus) and the drunkard (Aristippus), is more impious than the others, and is pleasant and fond of good eating. Tackaberry (1930) 46 notes that nowhere in Lucian does Epicurus appear in a really unfavourable light. In *Herm.* 25, Lycinus says that there are various roads which lead to the city of virtue including one—presumably the Epicurean—which "goes through meadows and gardens and shady places, a well-watered, pleasant road with nothing blocking the way or hard to traverse". Heraclitus (*Hom. All.* 79.2) calls Epicurus the "Phaeacian" philosopher because he took what Odysseus said to the Phaeacians about their life seriously (*Od.* 9.6–11), instead of realizing that he was moulding his words to fit the awkward circumstances in which he found himself (79.7).

Αἴσωπος ... γελωτοποιῷ χρῶνται: see Bompaire (1958) 460–1 for Lucian's use of his fables; cf. also *Icar.* 10; *Pseud.* 5; *Herm.* 84. The word γελωτοποιός is used of Thersites in *Rep.* 620C, in the myth of Er.

Διογένης ... παροινεῖν: Diogenes Laertius 6.54 says that when asked what was the right time to marry, Diogenes said "for young men, not yet, and for older men, not ever"; in *Vit. Auct.* 7–11, the buyer meets the Cynic, who in 9 tells him to have no thought for marriage

or children. Diogenes' aim was the self-sufficiency and self-control of the individual (Diog. Laert. 6.70); he endured self-inflicted hardships in order to overcome pleasure and pain and would, for instance, beg from a statue (to get used to being refused): see Diog. Laert. 6.23; 34–5; 48–9; 70–1; Dio Chrys. 6.8–10. On Lais, cf. Athen. 588C–F: Lais from Hyccara was the mistress of Aristippus, Demosthenes the orator, and Diogenes. She apparently took money from Aristippus, but went with Diogenes free of charge. Diogenes is usually for Lucian the representative of the Cynic life, as in *Vit. Auct.* 9, where he sets out the basic characteristics (undergoing hardships, sleeping on the ground, drinking only water, throwing away money, caring nothing for marriage or children or one's native-land). In the Isle of the Blessed, Diogenes has changed his ways dramatically, even to the point of dancing when he has had too much to drink. Bernays (1879) argues that Lucian's attitude to the Cynics changed from one of cold friendship to one of bitter hostility, but this view has been refuted by Tackaberry and others; for a judicious evaluation of the evidence, see Tackaberry (1930) 30–45. Lucian on occasion seems well-disposed to the Cynics: in *Catapl.* 24, Rhadamanthus sends Cyniscus off to live on the Isles of the Blessed, while in *D.Mort.* 21(11).3 "wisdom, self-sufficiency, truth, frankness and freedom" are said to have been passed down from Antisthenes to Diogenes to Crates.

τῶν δὲ Στωϊκῶν . . . λόφον: the Hill of Virtue is an allusion to Hes. *Op.* 290 (μακρὸς δὲ καὶ ὄρθιος οἶμος ἐς αὐτήν), a line quoted in *Herm.* 2. In *Herm.* 78, Lycinus compares the Stoic pursuit of happiness to the man who is "preparing and training himself for a better dinner for such a long time that he has died of hunger before he knows it". By having the Stoics still pursuing happiness on their hill of virtue, even after death, Lucian makes this philosophical journey seem truly unending and therefore ultimately pointless. In *Apol.* 15, he casts doubt on whether there can ever be a truly wise man. Throughout Lucian's works the Stoics are caricatured as shaven-headed, long-bearded, short-coated, and as arrogant, austere-looking, avaricious, hypocritical, servile and debauched, displaying a propensity to sophisms and syllogisms: cf. *Symp.* 6; 9; 23; 30–3; *Bis Acc.* 21; *Gall.* 10–11; *Vit. Auct.* 20–5; *De Merc. Cond.* 33; see further, Tackaberry (1930) 20–21; Caster (1937) 16–29.

Χρυσίππου . . . ἐλλεβορίσῃ: cf. the criticism of Chrysippus by the Peripatetic Cleodemus in *Symp.* 30; in *Icar.* 24 his syllogisms are a

marker of frigidity. In *Vit. Auct.* 23, the Stoic says that a man cannot become wise until he has drunk hellebore three times; cf. *Herm.* 86, where Hermotimus, having been convinced by Lycinus' arguments against the philosophers, says that he would not flinch from drinking hellebore for the opposite reason to Chrysippus—i.e. so that he might remember nothing of what they said. Hellebore was given as a measure against madness (Hipp. *Vict.* 1.35 [Littré vol. 6, p. 519]; Aristoph. *Vesp.* 1489).

τοὺς δὲ Ἀκαδημαϊκοὺς . . . ἐστίν: on the fact that the Academics are absent, see Tackaberry (1930) 54 nn. 347–8. Ollier (1962) 68 comments that these Academics are the members of the Middle and New Academy, who declared that man is incapable of attaining absolute truth and should suspend judgement on the foundation of things. Lucian does not distinguish them here from the Pyrrhonians, who were more thorough-going in their scepticism. He also notes that ἐπέχειν is a term used by Pyrrho and his followers; it means to suspend judgment; cf. Plut. *De Prim. frig.* 955C; Luc. *Vit. Auct.* 27; *Icar.* 25: Menippus tells how Zeus, when he received contrary prayers from two men with promises of equal sacrifices "was in the same difficulty as the Academicians and could not make any affirmation, but like Pyrrho he suspended judgment and considered it for a while".

ὑπὸ νωθείας: cf. *Vit. Auct.* 27, where the buyer says the Sceptic looks "slow and lazy".

2.19

τιμῶσι δὲ μάλιστα τὸν Ἀχιλλέα . . . Θησέα: why these two? Perhaps simply because both were famous leaders. Ollier (1962) 69 says Theseus is mentioned because Lucian was living in Athens when he was writing the *VH.* Since Lucian is speaking here about the Academicians and is about to mention Socrates again, there may be a connection with Plato's *Phaedo*, which opens with a reference to the Athenian observance of Theseus' journey to Crete to kill the Minotaur, a ritual which delayed Socrates' execution. Perhaps it is in connection with the love and the friendship of young men that Achilles and Theseus are mentioned; in *Tox.* 10, the friendship of Achilles with Patroclus and the comradeship of Theseus and Pirithous are singled out as the subjects of the most beautiful epic and lyric poetry. Theseus is associated with Helen (see n. on 2.8 above) and so is Achilles: there were stories which told of Achilles and Helen

as lovers after death (Paus. 3.19.11). In *Nigr.* 38, Lucian associates Achilles with a remedy for the madness of philosophy; the piece ends with a recommendation to cure this by doing as Telephus did, i.e. going to the one who wounded him in order to be healed: this alludes to the story of his being cured by the rust of Achilles' spear (Apollod. 3.17–20).

συνουσίας . . . αἰσχρὸν δοκεῖ: cf. Hdt. 3.101 on public copulation among the Indians, an allusion noted by the scholiast [Rabe, 22.6–7]; cf. Megasthenes ap. Str. 15.1.56 on the people of the Caucasus. The Mossynoeci do in public what the Greeks do in private and have intercourse with women in the open according to Xenophon *Anab.* 5.4.33–4; cf. Apoll. Rhod. *Arg.* 2.1015–25. Perhaps this detail in the *VH* is to be connected with the famous shamelessness of Diogenes: Apuleius (*Flor.* 14) tells the story of how, when Crates and his wife Hipparchia were about to have sex in public, Zeno hid them from view with his cloak. In *Vit. Auct.* 10, the Cynic recommends doing in public what someone would not do in private, and doing so boldly; see further, Navia (1996) 94–5; 124.

γυναῖκές . . . Πλατωνικώτατοι: on having women in common, cf. Plat. *Rep.* 457C. Lucian refers to this idea in *Vit. Auct.* 17 (cf. *Symp.* 39); in *Fug.* 18, Philosophy criticizes those who misunderstand the terms on which "that holy man thought women should be so regarded". Diogenes Laertius 6.72 says that Diogenes recommended the same thing, recognizing only consensual marriages. Community of wives may have been a utopian topos: Iambulus (ap. Diod. 2.58.1) reports that the islanders do not marry women but have them in common. Nicolaus F4 (*PG* p. 150) mentions similar practices among the Liburni; cf. Hdt. on the Massagetai (1.216), Agathyrsi (4.104) and Ausei (4.180).

παῖδες δὲ παρέχουσι . . . ἀντιλέγοντες: the verb παρέχω is used similarly with reference to the males on the moon having sex (1.23). The free access to beautiful boys is a parody of Platonic ideas: cf. *Vit. Auct.* 17: to love boys shall be a prize for the bravest after they have done some splendid and reckless deed, says the Academic (cf. the references to Socrates' pederastic interests in *Vit. Auct.* 15).

2.20

The questions which Lucian puts to Homer are typical of those with which the Alexandrian grammarians preoccupied themselves—his name, his birthplace, spurious verses—in their efforts to restore the

genuine original form of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* and to establish the identity of the author. There was also a long tradition of Homeric biography starting from Theagenes of Rhegium (cf. the lengthy list in Tatian *Ad Graec.* 31.16–23 [Schwartz]). Lucian is here fulfilling a fantasy of all the grammarians and interpreters of Homer, a fantasy which Socrates himself shared (*Apol.* 41A). In *Hes.*, Lycinus has a conversation with Hesiod, in which the poet says that it is not right to examine poetry in minute detail, for this robs poets of their greatest possession, namely freedom and poetic licence: "nor am I the only victim, but many others pick the poetry of my fellowcraftsman Homer completely to bits, pointing out similar niggling details, the slightest things". Having dealt with Hesiod in this short dialogue, Lucian now turns his attention to Homer.

οἱ μὲν Χῖον ... Τιγράνης: various places competed for the honour of being Homer's birthplace. Information is given in Ps.-Plut. *Vit. et poes. Hom.* 54B. 2: Ephorus of Cyme says the poet was born in Cyme (*FGrH* 70 F1); Pindar names both Chios and Smyrna (fr. 264 [Snell-Maehler]) and Simonides Chios alone (fr. 147 [Page]); Antimachus (fr. 130 [Wyss]) and Nicander (*FGrH* 271/2 F36) say Colophon; and Aristotle says Ios (fr. 20.1, 4, 5 [Gigon]). Some said he was Lydian, others that he was Egyptian, according to the Suda. Zenodotus asserted that he was a Chaldaean (*schol. Il.* 23.79) and the notion that he is in fact Babylonian looks like a parody of this. In *Gall.* 17, the Cock says Homer was "a camel in Bactria" during the Trojan war.

ὁμηρεύσας ... τὴν προσηγορίαν: for this kind of word-play compare 1.22. Ps.-Plutarch *Vit. et poes. Hom.* 54A. 3 offers two explanations of Homer's name: (1) he was first called Melesigenes because he was born by the river Meles in Cyme and later, when he became blind, he was called Homer because the Cymaeans said the blind had to be led round like hostages (Ephorus *FGrH* 70 F1); and (2) his mother was taken by pirates to Smyrna, which was then held by the Lydians, and when they had to leave the island the child wished to go along [ὁμηρεῖν], and so became known as Homer instead of Melesigenes (Arist. fr. 20.1 [Gigon]).

περὶ τῶν ἀθετουμένων ... τὴν ψυχρολογίαν: this makes fun of the efforts of grammarians like Zenodotus of Ephesus (the earliest editor of Homer, according to the Suda) and Aristarchus of Samothrace to mark with an obelus (ὀβελίζειν) or reject as spurious (ἀθετεῖν) lines which they judged as not genuinely Homeric (e.g. *Il.* 2.231–4; cf.

Ps.-Plut. *Vit. et poes. Hom.* 54A. 6, *Il.* 24.29–30). In *Pro Imag.* 24, there is a reference to Zoilus the "Homeromastix" who flogged Homer's statue and to Aristarchus who "obelized" the spurious lines. See also Anderson (1976a) 169–170. Dio Chrysostom (*Or.* 11) summarizes the methods of contradicting Homer. On Aristarchus, see Römer (1924) and Porter (1992); on Zenodotus, see Düntzer (1848) and Nickau (1977).

ἀπὸ τῆς μήνιδος . . . ἐπιτηδεύσαντι: Homer says "it just occurred to him" to begin the *Iliad* as he did (cf. in *Dear. Iud.* 4, Hermes says Aphrodite asked whether Paris was married because "it just came into her head"). Homer's response aptly sums up what Lucian regards as the pointlessness of questioning every line the poet wrote and the minute speculations of the Homeric grammarians. Two reasons are preserved in the exegetical *scholia* AT for beginning the poem with such an ill-omened concept as wrath: (1) so that this may bring out such an emotion through suffering, and make the audience more attentive because of its grandeur and to accustom them to bear sufferings more bravely since he is going to sing about wars; and (2) to make the praise of the Greeks more believable; since he intended to proclaim the Greeks victors, naturally he †inveighs at (them) at this point because he becomes more plausible† [εἰκότως νῦν κατατρέχει ἀξιοπιστότερος ὤν, reading provided in app. crit., from T] by not allowing them all the praise.

προτέραν . . . τὴν Ὀδύσσειαν: Seneca, *De Brev. Vit.* 13.2 comments that this topic had become a *morbus* among the Greeks. In Longinus, *De Subl.* 9.11–13, the *Iliad* is said to be the earlier, in agreement with Lucian's Homer. Discussions about the relative chronology were current in antquity. Lucian's formulation of his question implies that the common view was that Homer wrote the *Odyssey* first. Russell's statement ([1964] 96) that this common view is implied in the Herodotean *Vit. Hom.* 26 [Allen] is something of an overstatement. The *Cert. Hom. et Hes.* 324 makes the *Odyssey* a sequel of the *Iliad*: μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ποιεῖ τὴν Ὀδύσσειαν . . . πεποιηκὼς ἤδη τὴν Ἰλιάδα; *schol.* BT on *Il.* 24.804 and Eust. on *Od.* 3.108 present a similar point of view; see also Mazzucchi (1992) 176–7.

οὐδὲ τυφλὸς ἦν: cf. the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* 172; Thuc. 3.104. In Plut. *Vit. Hom.* 6 [Allen], two mythical accounts are given of Homer's blinding: (1) he was blinded by the gleam of Achilles' armour (45–8) and (2) Helen struck him blind because she was angry with him for

saying she left her husband and followed Paris (51–6). The second is reminiscent of the story of Stesichorus (see n. on 2.15 above). In Plat. *Phdr.* 243A, Socrates mentions an ancient purification for those who have erred in matters of mythology "which Homer did not know, but Stesichorus did"; thus when he was struck blind for speaking badly of Helen, "he was not, like Homer, unaware of the reason" and so he wrote his recantation. Lucian may be suggesting that Homer is not blind because he has "recanted" in the same manner as Stesichorus. Alternatively, by emphatically denying Homer's blindness, he may also be rejecting such fanciful tales altogether.

γραφὴ ... Ὀδυσσέως συναγορεύοντος: Thersites' speech in *Il.* 225–34 attacks Agamemnon and exposes the flaws of the heroic code; in *Il.* 2.244–64 he is silenced by Odysseus when he attacks Agamemnon. In *Il.* 2.200 Agamemnon and Odysseus are said to hate him. Thersites is again defeated in the *VH*, but he is nonetheless included among the inhabitants of the Isle of the Blessed. Lucian probably felt some positive feelings towards a character with considerable verbal skills who is portrayed so negatively by Homer and who was so roundly attacked by Odysseus. In *Adv. Ind.* 7 Lucian makes fun of Thersites' physical appearance. The fact that Homer is defended by Odysseus points to the superior narrative skills of the poet's character and recalls the statement in Lucian's Introduction (1.3) that he was the originator of all the lying and buffoonery with the tales he fed the gullible Phaeacians. In the myth of Er, Thersites takes the life of a monkey, a symbol of buffoonery (Plat. *Rep.* 620C).

2.21

Πυθαγόρας ... τὰς περιόδους ... Εὔφορβον: cf. *Pseud.* 5; *Gall.* 13; 17; 20; *Par.* 46; Xenophanes B 7 [D-K] (ap. Diog. Laert. 8.36). The fact that Pythagoras has reached the end of his migrations may serve as a reminder that the process of purification for the voyagers is still underway. Heracleides Ponticus recorded that Pythagoras was Aethalides the son of Hermes, then he entered into Euphorbus (Diog. Laert. 8.4; cf. *Il.* 16.849–50; Luc. *Par.* 46) and he was wounded by Menelaus. Then he was Hermotimus, Pyrrhus, a fisherman of Delos, and finally Pythagoras. On the right side of gold, cf. the thigh of gold in Diog. Laert. 8.4; 8.11. Lucian is poking fun by making the whole side of Pythagoras golden; in *D.Deor.* 6(20).3, by contrast, Pythagoras does not have his thigh of gold any more. Lucian seems relatively respectful towards Pythagoras in *Fug.* 9 (among the first

who welcomed Philosophy to the earth) but he ridicules his mysticism and transmigrations in the *Gall.* See further, Tackaberry (1930) 28–30. On Pythagorean metempsychosis, see Burkert (1972) 120–65, espec. 139–41 on Euphorbus.

Ἐμπεδοκλῆς: on Empedocles, see Tackaberry (1930) 24; for his leap into the crater at Etna, see Diog. Laert. 8.69. In *D.Mort.* 6.(20)4, Menippus finds him in the Underworld and makes fun of him: when Empedocles says he jumped into the crater in a fit of melancholia, Menippus says it was rather a fit of vanity (κενοδοξία) and delusion (τῦφος) and drivelling (κόρυζα), and that he deserved to be burned to ashes. In *Icar.* 13, Menippus meets Empedocles on the moon, "looking like a cinder and all burned".

2.22

τὰ Θανατούσια: the Thanatousia are like a regular Greek agonistic festival, the name formed by analogy with the Olympia, Eusebea, Neronia and so on. The description is a parody of the athletic contests among the Phaeacians (*Od.* 8.104–235) and the funeral games for Patroclus (*Il.* 23.257–897). The brief summary of the contests recalls the Odyssean games. The connection between athletics and funerals is given extra point here as the events are happening among the dead; see further, Malten (1923–4). In the *Odyssey*, we have running, wrestling, jump, discus and boxing (8.120–30); in the *Iliad*, chariot-racing, boxing, wrestling, running, armed fighting, discus, archery and javelin (23. 262–897, although the last three are only sketchily described). In the *Odyssey*, Homer gives the names of the winners and only the footrace is described at length. In the *Iliad*, the account is much lengthier. Lucian's interest in athletics is evident from his *Anacharsis*, in which Solon enlightens the Scythian Anacharsis about Greek events and practices (cf. *Peregr.* 19–21; 31–2; 35–7; *Calumn.* 12). The *VH* opens with an athletic analogy (1.1).

ἠγωνοθέτει . . . τὸ ἕβδομον: in *Il.* 23.257, Achilles is the organizer of the games for Patroclus. On the agonothete, cf. Plut. *Quaest. conv.* 674F; Paus. 5.9.4–6; *Inschr. v. Olympia* 56.11–28.

πάλην . . . καταγωνισάμενος: Κάρανος defeats Odysseus. In *Od.* 8.127, Euryalus wins the wrestling; in *Il.* 23.700–39, Odysseus competes with Ajax and the match ends in a draw (736). The name Κάρανος is an emendation made by Gronovius (κάρος is given by Γ β, while

Ω has κῦρος). See Fiedler (1987) 253–59 on reading "Carus" and possible identifications of this figure. On his designation as a "successor of Heracles", i.e. a victor in both the wrestling and the pankration, see Forbes (1939), who sees in the name Carus a form of Caprus [of Elis], the first such "successor of Heracles" in Olympiad 142, i.e. 212 BCE: see further, "Kapros, 3" *RE* 10.2 (1919) 1921–2 [Swoboda]; Paus. 5.21.10; 6.15.4, 10. On wrestling, see Poliakoff (1987) 23–53.

πυγμῇ . . . συνελθόντων: a draw between Areius the Egyptian, who is buried at Corinth, and Epeius. Epeius, the son of Panopeus, is seen in the myth of Er entering into the nature of a craftswoman (Plat. *Rep.* 620C). In *Od.* 8.130, Laodamas, the son of Alcinous, wins the boxing; in *Il.* 23.652–99, the boxers are Epeius, son of Panopeus, and Euryalus, with the former winning. On the identity of Areius, see Fiedler (1987) 259–61: an athlete who actually existed, perhaps in the Hellenistic era like the Carus discussed above, appears to be meant; cf. Eusebius ap. *Anec. Graec. Paris* [Cramer] 2.154.6, ἀήττητος δὲ πύκτης καὶ Ἄρειος ὁ Αἰγύπτιος, referring to a boxer who was never beaten. On boxing, see Poliakoff (1987) 68–88.

παγκρατίου . . . ἐνίκησεν: on the popularity of this in the later period, see Philo. *Imag.* 2.6, who calls this the best event at Olympia. The event did not exist in Homeric times, however; see Poliakoff (1987) 54–63.

δρόμον . . . ἐνίκησεν: a perverse observation; the footrace was the first in the Olympic victory list and the oldest event at that festival. It is the first contest among the Phaeacians and Clytoneus wins. In *Il.* 23.740–97, Odysseus wins.

ποιητῶν . . . πτερῶν ταωνείων: there is no literary contest in either the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*, but many agonistic festivals included musical contests of various kinds (see, e.g. Plut. *Quaest. conv.* 674D–675D on the introduction of these events at the Pythia). Lucian's competition alludes to the traditional contest which was supposed to have taken place between the two poets at Chalkis, an idea which may have been as old as the 6th century. In the *Certamen Homeri et Hesiodi* 322 [Allen], Hesiod gets the crown although the audience demanded that Homer should be judged the winner. Lucian makes Hesiod the victor again because he could hardly have Homer win after all the

criticisms and parodies he has made. The fact that "Homer was better, in truth" but loses seems to echo the Platonic view that he is enchanting but has to be eliminated from the ideal state. Lucian's reasons for making Homer the loser are not the same as those mentioned in the *Cert. Hom. et Hes.* 207–9, namely that he was singing of war and slaughter, while Hesiod told of agriculture and peace. The tradition of Homer and Hesiod being cousins—hence contemporaries (cf. *Cert. Hom. et Hes.* 54–5)—goes back at least to the beginning of the 5th century (e.g. Pherec. *FGrH* F167). In the *Cert. Hom. et Hes.* 322, Hesiod gets a bronze tripod (cf. Plut. *Sept. sap. conv.* 153F–154A). There is also the famous contest in the Underworld between the tragedians Aeschylus and Euripides in Aristophanes' *Frogs* 830–1499.

The crown of peacock feathers in the *VH* is modelled on the victory-crowns at the Panhellenic festivals, which were fashioned from a plant associated with the presiding deity (e.g. olive at the Olympia, pine or celery at the Isthmia). In *De Dom.* 11, Lucian praises the beauty of the peacock; it was sacred to Hera (Athen. 655A); see Pollard (1977) 91–3; 147.

2.23

οἱ ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῶν ἀσεβῶν ... νῆσον: cf. the Εὐσεβής city and the Μάχιμος city in Theopompus ap. Ael. *Var. Hist.* 3.18 [F 75(c)]. In the land of Ἄνοστος ("No Return"), there are two cities which are not like each other at all: Μάχιμος and Εὐσεβής: the citizens of the first have power and wealth, but are militaristic and have short lives, dying in battle or of disease; those of the latter live in peace and have abundant natural resources, are free from disease and injustice, and are happy. The Μάχιμοι once set out to visit our world, and came to the Hyperboreans; when they found out they were the happiest of all the peoples in the world, they disdained to go any further. This expedition is paralleled in the *VH* by the wicked bursting their chains and attempting to travel to the Isle of the Blessed.

Φάλαριν ... Πιτυοκάμπτην: for the tyrants and others who want to go to the Isle of the Blessed but are fought back by the heroes, cf. Ardiaeus and others, mostly tyrants, in *Rep.* 615D–616A, who try to go back up through the chasm, but are not admitted. They are seized by the savage, fiery men who bind their hands, feet and head, drag them by the road and tear their flesh. Lucian follows Plato in making tyrants archetypes of wickedness (cf. *Gorg.* 525D), but the

most severe punishments are meted out to the lying historians Ctesias and Herodotus (2.31). Phalaris attempts to whitewash his reputation in *Phal.* 1 and *Phal.* 2, which are short rhetorical exercises. Busiris, a mythical king of Egypt, was killed by Heracles when he tried to make a human sacrifice of him, his usual practice with strangers (Hdt. 2.45; Apollod. 2.5.7; Isocrates' *Busiris* is a eulogy). Diomedes of Thrace was also killed by Heracles for feeding his guests to his savage mares (Diod. 4.15.3–4; Apollod. 2.5.8). Sciron and Pityokamptes were violent robbers killed by Theseus (Plut. *Thes.* 8.3–4; 10.1–2).

ἠρίστευσε . . . Δηλίῳ ἐμάχετο: in Plat. *Symp.* 220D–E, Alcibiades praises Socrates for saving his life at the battle of Potidaea and urges the generals to award the prize for valour to Socrates (cf. Antisthenes ap. Athen. 216B–C [*SSR* 5A, 200]). In the battle of Delium, Alcibiades (221A–B) says that Socrates outdid Laches in being sensible and that he maintained a calm countenance (221A–B). Diogenes Laertius 2.22–3 says that at Delium Socrates saved Xenophon's life and that in the general flight of the Athenians, he retreated at his ease. Socrates is also praised for his courage in Plat. *Lach.* 181A. The Platonic tradition is echoed in Plut. *Alc.* 7.4, where he is said to have saved the life of Alcibiades, and in *De Gen.* 581D, which also indicates that Socrates was present at the battle. Strabo 9.2.7 reports that Socrates during the retreat saw Xenophon lying on the ground and carried him on his shoulders for many stades to safety.

These laudatory reports of Socrates' heroism were criticized by later non-Socratic writers, such as Athenaeus 215C–216C. He questions not only his heroism but also his very participation in the battle, on the grounds that no historian or poet or orator mentions him in the battle of Delium (he is not mentioned by Thucydides 4.96.8–8 or Xenophon). He paints a ridiculous picture of Socrates in the battle and calls his bravery fictitious. In the encounter the Athenians were defeated by the Thebans; it took place in the same year (424BCE) as the performance of the *Clouds* of Aristophanes, in which Socrates was ridiculed, as he was in Amipsias' *Konnos* fr. 9 [*PCG*].

In *Par.* 43, Simon, wanting to demonstrate the cowardice of the philosophers, claims that only Socrates dared to participate in the Delium battle, and he fled from the battle-field to the palaestra of Taureas, where he took refuge; see also Bompaire (1958) 187. In *D.Mort.* 4(21) Cerberus tells Menippus how Socrates was terrified when he entered the Underworld.

Νεκρακαδημίαν: a Lucianic coinage, like Thanatousia in 2.22; cf. *Men.* 20 for similarly humorous names in the *ecclesia* in the Underworld: εἶπε τὴν γνώμην Κρανίων Σκελετίωνος Νεκυσιεὺς φυλῆς Ἀλιβαντίδος. In *Peregr.* 41, Lucian invents the term νεκράγγελος.

ἀπιόντι μοι ἔδωκεν ... ἀπωλέσαμεν: cf. Endymion's gifts left in the whale 1.27. The loss of the gifts means that the narrator cannot provide tangible proof of his adventures.

κυάμους ἑψήσαντες ... κυαμοφαγίαν: cf. the bean helmets in 1.14. Pythagoras is not taking part in the feast because he detested beans; cf. in *D.Mort.* 6(20), Pythagoras asks Menippus if he has anything to eat in his wallet; he answers beans and says Pythagoras must not eat them, but Pythagoras tells him to give him some since "doctrines among the dead are different". On the Pythagorean abstention from beans see Delatte (1930), who explains as follows: beans produce wind in the stomach, beans contain winds, souls (especially of the dead) are winds, therefore the beans contain the souls of the dead (56). Medical explanations have been offered by Arie (1959); Lieber (1970); and Brumbaugh and Schwartz (1980), who connect the practice with the fact that some people, afflicted with the condition known as favism, have an inability to tolerate fava beans. Some ancient sources associate beans with genitals (Aristotle ap. Diog. Laert. 8.34); Aulus Gellius 4.11.10, quoting Empedocles B 141 [D-K]—Δειλοί, πάνδειλοι, κυάμων ἄπο χεῖρας ἔχεσθαι—, comments that the testicles were called "beans" by the Pythagoreans (*more Pythagorae operte atque symbolice* κυάμους *appellatos*), because they cause pregnancy and furnish power for human generation (κυεῖν). On Pythagorean ideas about beans, see Burkert (1972) 178; 183–4 and on ancient vegetarianism in general, see Haussleiter (1935). There was a bean festival at Athens called the Pyanopsia, on which see Deubner (1932) 198–201.

2.24

Νῦν δέ μοι ... ἡρώων: the opening words of the new poem include the conventional epic invocation of the Muses. The new Homeric poem involves a reversal of roles. Homer narrated the war which arose from the abduction of Helen by Paris and its consequences; here it will be Lucian, not Homer, who tells of the second abduction by Cinyras (25–6). Homer's new epic deals with the battle of the shades of the good and the wicked, a war which is unconnected

with Helen. Homer has always been closely identified with the Helen theme and here Lucian dissociates him from it by telling his own story of her abduction. In Homer's new epic there are heroes he never dealt with (such as Theseus) and they are all fighting on the same side against the wicked. There is a mixture of history and poetry in the episode with Achilles fighting alongside Socrates, Pityocamptes alongside Phalaris, and so on. The introduction of historical figures lends the account some verisimilitude (as does the mixture of mythical and historical athletes in the Games of the Dead), which is just the kind of falsehood Lucian is attacking through parody in the *VH.* This battle also forms a doublet with the celestial battle in book 1. It is interesting to note the absence of the "ill-omened" term μῆνις in the opening line of the new poem (cf. n. on 2.20 above); for a list of alternative first lines of the *Iliad*, see 1.a, n. 1 in Erbse's edition of Eustathius. Lucian is himself functioning as a corrector of Homer, it seems.

2.25–26: CINYRAS AND HELEN

The saga of Cinyras and Helen is a parody of the Trojan war and in particular of the trivialities of its cause in the abduction of Helen by Paris. This is another instance of Lucian's "Iliadic" parody. Cinyras is a second Paris to Menelaus. On this episode, see Anderson (1976a) 50–1. In his *In Plat. Rem publ.* 1.175–6, 15–21, Proclus comments that Helen is a means of indicating how "beauty" causes eternal war among souls, until the more intellectual ones are victorious over the less rational forms of life and return to whence they came. The Trojan war is a battle of souls over earthly beauty, represented by Helen; see Buffière (1956) 410–13; Lamberton (1986) 199–200. Lucian also makes Helen a trophy, but for philosophers: in *Eun.* 3, the Helen "for whom they met in single combat" is the Chair for which the Peripatetic candidates are contending.

2.25

Κινύρας . . . Ἑλένης: Cinyras is the king of Cyprus (Plat. Com. fr. 3 [*PCG*]) who gave Agamemnon a breast-plate (*Il.* 11.20–3). The name is attested as a priest of Aphrodite in Pind. *P.* 2.15–16 and Lucian (*Dea Syr.* 9) says he founded a sanctuary of Aphrodite at Byblos. Cinyras was proverbial for his wealth (Tyrt. 12.6 [Bergk]) and was

blessed by the gods (Pind. *N.* 8.18). He was the unwitting father of his daughter's child, Adonis, according to Ov. *Met.* 10. 298–514; see further Bömer (1980) 112–13; Anderson (1976c) 76. For Helen, see n. on Stesichorus in 2.15; also Clader (1976); Suzuki (1989); Austin (1994).

ἁρπάσας . . . Τυρόεσσαν: for the notion that Helen was willingly carried off by Paris, see Hdt. 1.4.

2.26

ναῦν μονόξυλον ἀσφοδελίνην: cf. the single logs of cinnamon in 2.11. The asphodel is associated with the dead, cf. the asphodel meadow (*Od.* 11. 539; 573; 24.13; Luc. *Men.* 11). The notion of a whole ship being made from an asphodel log is comical, for it does not grow into a tree, as Ollier (1962) 77 says, or even a shrub.

Τυροέσσης: i.e. the Cheese Island of Tyro in 2.3. This suggests that Cinyras and Helen are attempting to leave the world of the dead. In *Catapl.* 4, Megapenthes almost makes it out. This may also be an allusion to Helen's connection with the White Island, of which the Cheese Island is a parody (see n. on 2.3 above): Leonymus brought Helen's instructions to Stesichorus from the White Island, telling him to recant if he wanted to recover his sight. Helen and Achilles were said to be on this island married to each other, after their deaths (Paus. 3.19.1113). The Cheese Island would then be an appropriate destination for Helen and Cinyras. On possible Pythagorean elements in this story, see Burkert (1972) 153.

παρὰ τοσοῦτον ἦλθον διαδρᾶναι: for this expression, cf. Thuc. 8.33.3 (παρὰ τοσοῦτον ἐγένετο). Stengel (1911) 75–6 notes other Thucydidean echoes here: ἐμβιβάσας (2.90.3), ὑπὸ προθυμίας (4.14.3; 7.76), and καταλαμβάνουσιν . . . ἐμβαίνοντας (1.61.2).

ἁλύσει ῥοδίνῃ: the rope is made from an item found in the local environment, a realistic detail; cf. the cobweb chains in 1.18 and the cobweb plain spun in the sky in 1.15.

Ἑλένη . . . ᾐσχύνετο κἀνακαλύπτετο . . . ἐκ τῶν αἰδοίων δήσας: for Helen's behaviour, cf. *Il.* 3.141; 173. On the punishment, see Devereux (1979–80) and Levine (1991). The former interprets the scene as Helen and Cinyras having their genitals tied together and says this implies the fantasy of the female penis. Levine points out that Devereux's interpretation rests on a mistranslation of the Greek and proposes instead that it was the offending male kidnappers who had

their penises bound. Cinyras' genitalia are restrained forcibly as a result of his sexual lust for Menelaus' wife; cf. *Fug.* 31 (κρεμήσονται ἀπὸ τοῦ πώγωνος οὕτω μιαρὸς ὤν). Levine also suggests (32) that "Lucian leaves the impression that Helen emerges from this abduction in much the same way that she had from the Trojan War: her captors suffer terrible punishment, but she is spared physical suffering because of her beauty and remorseful tears. Lucian is asking his audience to remember . . . when Helen's beauty melted the hearts of Priam and the Trojan elders (*Iliad* 3) and allowed her afterwards to live in domestic bliss with Menelaus (*Odyssey* 4)".

2.27

ἐψηφίσαντο . . . ἐπιμείναντες: cf. also 2.10 and a parallel in Iambulus, whose voyagers stayed for seven years (ap. Diod. 2.60.1); we are not told of the crime which causes their expulsion (see Holzberg [1996a] 627). The word ἐμπροθέσμως means "before the appointed time"; cf. nn. on 2.6 and 2.10 above.

οὐ πολλῶν ἐτῶν . . . τῶν ἀρίστων: the narrator is promised that he will soon come back and shows him his future seat; cf. the very long time it takes to reach *eudaimonia* and truth in *Herm.* 25; 48–9.

εἰπεῖν τὰ μέλλοντα . . . τὸν πλοῦν: for the narrator and Rhadamanthus, cf. Odysseus and Tiresias in *Od.* 11 and *Astrol.* 24. Rhadamanthus combines the roles of Tiresias the prophet and of Alcinous the king of the land which Odysseus visits; like Alcinous he arranges the games and like Alcinous he sends the travellers off with an escort.

πολλὰ . . . κινδυνεύσαντα: cf. *Od.* 5.206–7; 11.114; Verg. *Aen.* 2.295.

τότε δὴ ἀφίξῃ . . . κατοικουμένῃ: "you will reach the great continent opposite the one which is inhabited by your people". This anticipates the arrival at said continent in 2.47: εἰκάζομέν τε εἶναι τὴν ἀντιπέρας τῇ ὑφ' ἡμῶν οἰκουμένῃ κειμένην (see n. ad loc. below). The words which follow in Rhadamanthus' prediction—χρόνῳ ποτέ ἥξεις εἰς τὴν ἑτέραν ἤπειρον—could refer to the same continent or, conceivably, to the travellers' *own* continent, i.e. the one from which they initially departed. In 2.28, however, Rhadamanthus expresses his doubts as to whether the narrator will actually get that far: εἰ καί ποτε ἀφικοίμην ἐς τήνδε τὴν γῆν. At that point his pronouncements become noticeably less definite than the Tiresias-like predictions just before. Lucian makes fun of oracles elsewhere (*J. Trag.* 20; 28–31, cf. Caster [1937] 225–67).

2.28

μαλάχης . . . μεγίστοις κινδύνοις προσεύχεσθαι: the mallow as a charm contrasts with 1.16 above, where the poison of the mallow is used in weaponry (see n. ad loc.). The mallow is a plant of the dead (Burkert [1972] 185) and echoes the moly which Hermes gives Odysseus in *Od.* 10.287–304 as protection against the magic of Circe, and in *VH* 2.46 Lucian duly prays to the mallow when he is with the Ass-legs. Henderson (1991) 47 notes that the mallow-stalk "which is long and stiff and can be peeled back like a foreskin" is suggestive of the erect penis and cites Aristoph. *Lys.* 735 (119).

μήτε πῦρ μαχαίρᾳ . . . πλησιάζειν: Rhadamanthus tells the Narrator not to stir the fire with a sword-blade and not to eat lupines or to make love to anyone over 18. Plutarch (*De Lib. ed.* 12E) indicates that the first is a genuine Pythagorean precept (cf. Diog. Laert. 8.17–20; Hor. *Sat.* 2.3.276); according to Diogenes Laertius 8.18, it meant not to stir the passions or the swelling pride of the great. The other two are most likely parodies of such prohibitions. The order not to abstain from lupines is a parody of the injunction not to eat beans. For the third, we may compare *Alex.* 41: Alexander told his followers to abstain from sex with boys because it was unholy, but surrounded himself with very handsome choir-boys, whom he slept with. In *Gall.* 18, the Cock (Pythagoras) admits to Micyllus that he made unusual laws for the sake of publicity. On the Pythagorean *acusmata*, see Burkert (1972) 166–92, espec. 171–3 on rules and prohibitions of the kind Lucian gives here.

στήλην βηρύλλου . . . Λουκιανὸς . . . γαῖαν: cf. the inscription of Heracles and Dionysus on the Island of the Vine-women (1.7) and the amber stele in the lunar episode (1.20). The expression φίλην . . . πατρίδα γαῖαν is Homeric (cf. ἐς φίλην γαῖαν πατρίδα). The epigram is a form which is traced back to Homer (specifically *Il.* 7.89–90; 6.460–1) by the author of the Ps.-Plutarchan *Life and Poetry of Homer* 54B. 215 (see Keaney and Lamberton [1996] 306–7); Lucian may be alluding to similar notions which made Homer the originator of such literary forms. Seventeen Homeric epigrams are preserved in the Ps.-Herodotean *Life of Homer* (cf. *Cert. Hom. et Hes.* 260–74 [Allen]). Given the epigram's association with tombs and death, it is perhaps especially appropriate that this should be the poetic form that the narrator asks the shade of Homer to compose in order to mark his visit to the Underworld and subsequent return to the world of the living.

This is the first time that the name of the narrator is revealed and he is identified with the author who speaks in the Introduction. We may compare the scene in the *Odyssey* when Odysseus is forced to reveal his identity and starts recounting his adventures to the Phaeacian audience (9.19). The inscription is supposed to provide evidence that Lucian was really there; cf. the stele in 1.7. and 1.4, where Lucian states his desire to hand something down to posterity. The inscription is a sign of the vanity he mentions there. Since it is created by Homer, the maker of lies, it is just another Homeric lie. The stele is set up near the harbour recalling the inscription of Sostratus on the Pharos at the end of *Hist.* (62).

2.29

ἐπιστολὴν . . . Καλυψοῖ κομίζειν: the letter to Calypso comes out of the tradition of literary love-epistles which can be seen in its elaborate form in Ovid's *Heroides*; Ovid does not include Calypso, but *Her.* 1 is from Penelope to Odysseus. See further, Jacobson (1974) 243–76, and, on the genre, 319–48. See also n. on 2.35 below.

πορθμέα Ναύπλιον: a navigator on the Argo in Apoll. Rh. *Arg.* 1.138; 2.896. He was the descendant of the famous son of Poseidon of the same name, who is said to have founded the port of Nauplia (Paus. 2.38.2; 4.35.2). The Phaeacians, who are renowned for their sailing abilities, take Odysseus to Ithaca but then they are punished by Poseidon and the ship does not make it back to Phaeacia (8.556–9; 13.162–4); here it is the famous pilot Nauplius who guides Lucian and company out of the Underworld; he is already dead and the narrator's ship is wrecked at the end of the book.

2.29–36: ISLES OF THE WICKED, THE DREAMS AND OGYGIA

2.29 (continued):

The account of the place of punishment is reminiscent of Er's vision in *Rep.* 615A–616A, where general categories are mentioned and Ardiaeus the tyrant serves as an example of great wickedness; in the *VH*, Lucian notices many kings and recognizes Cinyras, while Ctesias and Herodotus serve as examples of the most wicked. See Tackaberry (1930) 75–6.

ὀσμή τε δεινὴ . . . πολλῶν: κνῖσα is used of roasting meat. Again smells are the first hint of what is coming, as at 2.5; cf. *Men.* 14. With the δρόσος πιττίνη, cf. the mud in Hades in Aristoph. *Ra.* 145; Plat. *Phd.* 69C; Verg. *Aen.* 6.296–7. For the sounds of punishment and suffering, cf. Plat. *Rep.* 615E; Plut. *De Gen.* 590F; Verg. *Aen.* 6.557–8; Luc. *Men.* 14; *D.Mort.* 22(27).

2.30

ἀνερπύσαντες . . . τὸ κολαστήριον: cf. Plat. *Phd.* 112A–114C on Tartarus. Here there is no sense of going *down* to the place of punishment; in fact, they have to climb *up* the sheer cliffs to get to it when they land on the island. In *Phd.* 113E–114B, there are two categories of offenders in Tartarus: the incurable (who never get out) and the curable (patricides, matricides, and murderers, who do get out eventually). In Lucian's vision, the liars and those who wrote lies are the worst offenders and the recipients of the harshest punishments (1.31).

ἔδαφος . . . ἐξηνθήκει: cf. Ps.-Arist. *Mir. Ausc.* 173 [*PG* p. 312]: Eudoxus says that on the Berecynthian mountain there grows a stone called "knife" and if one of the performers of the mysteries of Hecate finds it that person goes mad.

ποταμοὶ . . . πυρός: rivers of mud, blood, and fire. In Plat. *Phd.* 112A–113C, there is mention of the four most important rivers in Tartarus: Oceanus, Acheron, Pyriphlegethon, Cocytus. From this kind of description Lucian makes his own, drawing on the fact that Pyriphlegethon is mud and fire in different stages. For the river of mud, cf. Plat. *Phd.* 69C: the uninitiated in Hades will lie in mud (ἐν βορβόρῳ). For symbolic meanings, cf. *Orph. Fr.* 126 [Kern] to the effect that the four rivers in Tartarus represent the four elements: Ocean is the water; Cocytos (i.e. Styx) the earth; Pyriphlegethon the fire; and Acheron the air. In Heracl. *Hom. All.* 74, the rivers are symbols of the various stages involved in death.

δαλοῖς . . . ἄνθραξι πεπυρωμένοις . . . λυχνίσκους: the river of fire with fish similar to torches (δαλοῖς) and to live coals (ἄνθραξι πεπυρωμένοις) is an imaginative twist. In Antig. 135 (*PG* p. 90) we learn about a river Pontos which has λίθους ἀνθρακώδεις; in Arist. 115 (*PG* p. 280) burning stones are mentioned (λίθους, οἳ καίονται); and *Paradox. Palat.* 19 (*PG* p. 360) reports λίθους ἀνθρακώδεις ὑπὸ ὕδατος ῥαινομένους ἀναλάμπειν. The λυχνίσκοι may be philosopher-fish, by analogy with

the scene at the end of the *Piscator*, which Lucian has already used to good effect in the Whale episode. These are the "small fry", i.e. petty versions of their more significant forebears. The word also recalls the lamps in the Lychnopolis episode. The small lights may be the inferior souls, like the less bright among the lamps. The so-called Thracian stone (perhaps quicklime which develops heat when treated with water) is said by Nicander *Ther.* 45–6 to glow when soaked in water (cf. Ps.-Arist. *Mir. Ausc.* 833a23; Pliny *HN* 33.94, cf. 36.141). It is mentioned in Jul. Valerius *Res Gest. Alex. Magn.* 3.37 [59] [Kuebler] that a stone which gives off light when lit, is called *lychnites* (also the name of a variety of Parian marble, according to Pliny *HN* 36.14). Ps.-Callisthenes (*Alex. Rom.* Recension C, 2.42) tells of a stone inside a fish which serves as a lamp: Alexander comes to a sweet-tasting lake and is attacked by a fish, which jumps right out of the water; he spears it and has it cut up to inspect its internal organs. He finds a "gleaming stone" in its stomach, "as bright as a lantern". Alexander, we are told, took the stone, set it in gold and used it as a lamp.

2.31

πυλωρὸς ... Τίμων ὁ Ἀθηναῖος: the misanthrope Timon of Athens, not Cerberus, is the guard, but in *Anth. Pal.* 8.319 he is likened to a dog that could bite Cerberus (cf. Bompaire [1958] 169).

Κινύραν ... αἰδοίων ἀπηρτημένον: the punishment of Cinyras recalls the entrapment of the sailors by the Vine-women in 1.8. It is appropriate that Cinyras should be bound by the genitals as it was his lust for Helen which started the whole affair. The image of Cinyras trussed up and hanging by the balls over a fire is a twist on the tradition of Helen who was hanged from the tree (cf. Paus. 3.19.10 and n. on 1.22 above). Also, Cinyras' daughter Myrrha was turned into a myrrh tree after her incestuous relationship with her father, and Adonis was born from it. The image may also owe something to the idea of souls suspended during purification, cf. Plat. *Gorg.* 525C; Verg. *Aen.* 6.741 (*suspensae ad ventos*). Diogenes Laertius 8.21 records that Pythagoras saw the soul of Homer "hanging from a tree".

Κτησίας ... Ἡρόδοτος: as we should expect, these two are the prime targets of Lucian's attack on lying historians (see Introd. I.1 and III.2). Ctesias is mentioned in the author's Introduction (1.3).

οὐδὲν ... συνηπιστάμην: true from the perspective of the narrator, false from the viewpoint of the author. By this stage of course Lucian has far exceeded Ctesias and Herodotus in his fabrications.

2.32

The Isle of Dreams forms a doublet with Lychnopolis in 1.29; cf. Anderson (1976a) 25. It parallels the description of the various lamps and the recognition of the narrator's own lamp. In both cases the inhabitants are likened to people in a Greek city, with its social hierarchy and class distinctions. Both episodes come at the conclusion of a visit to a land of the Dead. Like the lamps, the dreams may also be souls: Porphyry (*De Styg.* ap Stob. 1.41.50) comments as follows on "the images of dead men" (βροτῶν εἴδωλα καμόντων) in *Od.* 11.476: "the idea is that souls are like the images [τοῖς εἰδώλοις] appearing in mirrors and on the surface of water that resemble us in every detail and mimic [μιμεῖται] our movements but have no solid substance that can be grasped or touched. This is why he calls them 'images of dead men'" (transl. Lamberton [1986] 114). Miller (1994) 37–8 juxtaposes two passages from Homer with references to dreams, *Od.* 11.206 (Anticleia's soul slips through Odysseus' hands "like a shadow or a dream") and 222 ("the soul fluttering like a dream flies off"), and concludes that "in the dream theory of late antiquity, soul and dream were intimately connected" (see further, id. 39–72). Philosophers were certainly interested in dreams: Aristotle wrote an essay on them (see Gallop [1990]) and Plato comments on dreams in several of his works (see Gallop [1971]; Miller [1994] 39–41). Dreams were also open to allegorical interpretation, as in Philo's *De Somn.*: see Miller (1994) 91–105. Lucian's inventive nomenclature in this episode may reflect an awareness of such decodings.

Lucian is parodically elaborating upon—and, as he says, correcting—Homer's lines about the dreams. In *Od.* 19, Penelope tells Odysseus her dream of the eagle killing the geese (535–53) and asks him to interpret it (535). She also speaks of dreams in general: they are baffling and hard to interpret and are not always prophetic (560–1). There are two gates of dreams, she adds, one of ivory (through which come dreams that are not fulfilled) and one of horn (through which come dreams that accomplish real things); see n. on 2.33 below. On dreams in antiquity in general, see Hundt (1935); Kessels (1969); (1978); Miller (1994). On Lucian's version of the land of dreams and its place in the tradition, see Miller, *ib.* 14–38, espec. 26–8.

Lucian may have the philosophers in mind here as well: the insubstantial forms of the dreams, and their lack of clarity, as well as the fact that some of them are false and some are disgusting, point to the kind of criticism of philosophers seen in the lunar episode. There the philosophers and their arguments were likened to fantastic hybrids; here they are likened to dreams. In *Herm.* 71, Lycinus tells Hermotimus that his pursuit of philosophical knowledge is like following a dream without finding out beforehand if it can be fulfilled, and in 72 goes on to argue that Hermotimus is spending all his life in a dream, chasing fancies which are like Hippocentaurs "and all the other images which belong to dreams". Lycinus claims he has jolted Hermotimus out of his sleep by his arguments against the philosophers (71). Lucian is also playing with the traditional symbolic topography of the Underworld or the soul's journey, which he has transferred to the Isle of Dreams: the Plain of *Lethe* ("forgetting") in *Rep.* 621A, the Plain of *Aletheia* in *Phdr.* 248B, and the river *Ameles* ("heedless") in *Rep.* 621A become the Spring of *Kareotis* ("deep sleep"), the Plain of *Blakeia* ("stupidity") and the Temples of *Apate* and *Aletheia.*

ἀμυδρὰ καὶ ἀσαφὴς . . . λιμένα προσαγορευόμενον: the island itself has taken on the insubstantial appearance of a dream or a mirage. The evening arrival echoes the arrival in the harbour at Lychnopolis in 1.29. This is when the dreams would naturally be appearing. The *demos* of dreams, according to Homer *Od.* 24. 11–13, lies beyond the streams of Ocean and the rock of Leucas, past the gates of the sun and in the vicinity of the asphodel meadow.

πυλῶν τῶν ἐλεφαντίνων . . . Ἀλεκτρυόνος: on the ivory gates, see n. on 1.33 below. The fact that the voyagers enter by the gates which were used by Vergil's false dreams, or Homer's gate of dreams which are not fulfilled, indicates once again that the narrative is full of lies. In the late imperial period, divination by means of a cock (*Alektryomanteia*) was practised: grains of wheat or barley were placed on top of letters in the sand and a cock was let loose under magic commands; from the pecked letters, the answer was read (*RE* 1.2 [1894] cols. 1363–4 [Riess]; see also Betz [1961] 30–2). In *Dea Syr.* 48, a sacred cock at the temple of Hierapolis is connected with religious actvities. The cock may also allude to the story of the youth called Alectryon, which Lucian tells in *Gall.* 3: Ares had him stand guard while he was sleeping with Aphrodite, so as to warn him when the sun rose, but the young man accidentally fell asleep, and Hephaestus

discovered the lovers; as a punishment, Ares changed Alectryon into a cock; see also Csapo (1993a) 9.

τῆς πόλεως... Ὅμηρος οὐ πάνυ ἀκριβῶς συνέγραψεν: Homer mentions a *demos* of dreams in *Od.* 24.12; Lucian has a city. Miller (1994) 27 uses Lucian's account as the starting-point of a discussion of the conception of dreams as people in late antiquity and the connections between dreams and souls (27–73). In *Gall.* 5–6, Micyllus tells the Cock (Pythagoras) he would like to have the dream he was enjoying a little while ago and they discuss which gates it may have come through. Micyllus says Homer knows nothing about dreams and insists that his came through gates of gold. The conceit of correcting Homer is suggestive of both Alexandrian grammarians and allegorical interpreters "clarifying" the text or its meaning. Lucian has just made fun of Zenodotus and Aristarchus the grammarians in 2.20.

2.33

μήκωνες... νυκτερίδων: poppies and mandragoras are narcotic plants, while bats fly at night; the name of one of the lunar leaders in 1.15 is Νυκτερίων.

ποταμὸς... Νυκτίπορος: "Sleepwalker"; the adjective is used of a she-wolf in Opp. *Cyn.* 1.441; cf. νυκτίπλανος in Luc. *Alex.* 54. The name of the spring Νήγρετος ("Unwaking") may allude to the sweet sleep "most like death" which descends upon Odysseus in *Od.* 13.80 when he leaves the land of the Phaeacians, since Homer uses the same word. Παννυχία means "All-Night-Long".

πύλαι μέντοι... ἐλεφαντίνη: Homer has the gates of ivory and of horn; Lucian adds two more facing the Plain of *Blakeia*: one of iron, the other of earthenware. The frightening, murderous and appalling dreams—i.e. nightmares—go out through these gates. He may be thinking of the monstrosities of the philosophers here. On the iron and earthenware gates, the scholiast comments that the iron gate is for the dreams of those people whose hopes are immutable and firm, because of their abundance of stupidity; the earthenware gate for the dreams of those who still have some reason remaining and can get rid of such thoughts. Dreams follow thoughts, he explains, and these thoughts proceed together with sleep [Rabe, 23.20–24.7]. Ollier (1962) 84 says the choice of materials suggests these dreams' durability and at the same time their fragility and emptiness. The Plain of *Blakeia* (Laziness or Stupidity) is an echo of the Plain of Forgetting in Plat. *Rep.* 621A, where the souls encamp before being reincarnated.

On the gates of horn and ivory, see Highbarger (1940); Amory (1966); Miller (1994) 14–17. Vergil (*Aen.* 6.893–6) imitates the Homeric description and distinguishes between *veris umbris* and *falsa insomnia.* The gates were much discussed in antiquity and continue to generate competing interpretations. In Hesychius, ivory is connected with trickery and deceit, and is associated with the ὀλοφώια (wiles) of Proteus (*Od.* 4.410); Eustathius ad *Od.* 1877.26–39 makes the same connection between ἐλέφας and ἐλεφαίρω (deceive), and associates κέρας with κραίνω (accomplish). He also connects ivory with speech and horn with sight, with the latter being the more trustworthy source of knowledge. He offers a third explanation, based on the transparency of horn and the opacity of ivory. Amory prefers this last approach (34), while Miller (*ib.* 17) favours the speech/sight contrast.

τὸ Νυκτῷον ... Καρεῶτιν: for Night as a deity, see Hes. *Th.* 123; 211–12; for Sleep, Hom. *Il.* 14.231; 16.682; Hes. *Th.* 758. Taraxion is the "Troubler" or "Disturber", the son of "Emptiness", which seems to refer to nightmares and suggests that they are not to be taken seriously. Ploutokles is "Gloriously Wealthy", the son of Phantasion or "Fantasy". The scholiast comments on this as follows: "there is wealth and glory and other such things during sleep; some are distressful for the vexed one and easy to forget; others are pleasant and dear to the one who is pleased and are not tossed away" [Rabe, 24.7–10]. Lucian seems to be suggesting that dreams of wealth are merely fantasies. The spring of Καρεῶτις is derived from κάρος, meaning deep sleep (cf. *Am.* 39).

'Απάτης καὶ 'Αληθείας ... ὑποκριτής: this alludes to the main theme of the *VH*, the difference between Falsehood and Truth and how to distinguish one from the other. There are echoes here of Parmenides' eschatological chariot-ride, escorted by the Heliades from the house of Night (B 1 [D-K]). He travels through the gates of the paths of Night and Day, which are unbarred for him by Justice. In the house of Night he encounters a goddess who tells him it is right that he should "learn all things, both the steadfast heart of persuasive truth, and the beliefs of mortals, in which there is no true trust" (transl. Gallop [1984] 53). The two routes are the Way of Truth and the Way of Seeming. The oppositional pairing of Truth and Deception draws on a long tradition of similar contrasts, such as that between the way of κακότης and the way of ἀρετή (Hes. *Op.* 287–92) and between the two women who attempt to lure Heracles at the crossroads in Prodicus' *exemplum* (Xen. *Mem.* 2.1.21–34). The same ideas inspired

the Pythagorean symbolism of the letter Y; see Cumont (1949) 278–9.

In Plut. *De Gen.* 590A–B, Timarchus receives information from the oracle of Trophonius in a dream. In Paus. 9.39.5–14 the procedures at the oracle are described: descent takes place at night and lasts for one, two or even several days. There are two springs, of Lethe (to make the initiate forget what he has been thinking of up to this point) and Mnemosyne (to make him remember what he sees after his descent). In Plut. *De Ser. Num.* 566C, mention is made of an oracle which has no outlet anywhere on earth, nor any single seat, but which wanders everywhere throughout humankind in dreams and visions. The dreams are said to disseminate the unadorned and true, commingled with the colourful and deceptive. The truthful and deceptive aspects of dreams are intertwined, as early as *Od.* 19.562–7. This is why Penelope describes them as baffling or intractable (ἀμήχανοι) and hard to interpret (ἀκριτόμυθοι).

Antiphon, the interpreter of dreams in the *VH*, may be the Antiphon who was the contemporary of Socrates (Xen. *Mem.* 1.6) and who wrote a treatise on the interpretation of dreams: cf. B 87 [D-K]; Cic. *De Div.* 1.20. Diogenes Laertius 2.46 calls him a τερατοσκόπος, soothsayer. See further, Sauppe (1867) [=(1896) 508–26] espec. 524–6; Guthrie (1962–81) 285–94. For oneiric interpretation in general, see Artemidorus' *Oneirocritica*; Miller (1994) 74–105.

2.34

τῶν ὀνείρων ... ἐς πομπὴν διεσκευασμένοι: Menippus, when he sees the parade of souls in the Underworld, likens life to a pageant (*Men.* 16: ὁ τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίος πομπῇ τινι μακρᾷ). Hermes compares the departure from life to leaving a dream in *Char.* 17. The dreams may also represent the philosophers and their doctrines: some are well-proportioned, others are shapeless; some are wealthy, others are poor; some are winged and fantastic. The personification of the dreams is motivated by the fact that people did not "have" dreams, but "saw" dream-figures: see Kessels (1978) 156–7; 178–9; 194; Miller (1994) 17. When Homer speaks of the δῆμος ὀνείρων in *Od.* 24.12 it suggests that dreams are conceived of as people, cf. Miller (1994) 17.

ἐγνωρίσαμεν ... αὐθημερὸν ἐπανῆγον: cf. the recognition of the lamp in 1.29 and the narrator's viewing of his family and homeland in the mirror on the moon in 1.26. The motif of going back to the actual world is a recurring and presumably therefore important ele-

ment in the narrative. Here, it illustrates that there is definitely a link between dreams and reality, even if this link is not clearly understood. Endymion, according to Plut. *De Fac.* 945B, has as dreams the memories of his former life, while he is sleeping.

2.35

ἡμέρας . . . ἀνεγρόμενοι: Epimenides of Crete, during his many-yeared slumber in the cave of Zeus, conversed with Aletheia and Dike and was thereby initiated into knowledge (B 1, 117; 19–21 [D-K]; cf. Burkert [1972] 151–2). For the voyagers' thirty-day sleep, cf. Hdt. 4.25 on inhabitants of northern lands who sleep for half the year and Ant. Diog. (ap. Phot. 110b29–111a19) on nights which last for a month, or six months, and even a year (cf. Pomp. Mela 3.5 [36] on the Hyperboreans), and the long sleep—or deathlike trance—of Derkyllis and Mantinias; and Deinias' falling asleep and being carried to the temple of Heracles in Tyre.

For the thunderclap, cf. Plat. *Rep.* 621B, describing what happens to the souls after they have drunk from the river Heedless: "when they were asleep and it was the middle of the night, there was thunder and an earthquake, and then they were immediately carried up in different directions to γένεσις, shooting like stars". M.L. West (1983) 23 n. 57 compares the thunder that Er describes to the lightning-bolt, which dispatches an erring soul into the mortal world, mentioned on a gold leaf from Thurii (fr. A1.3 [Zuntz]). The sleep of the travellers is like the sleep of Endymion in the cave of Latmos; cf. Cumont (1942) 246–52; Préaux (1973) 153–5. The sleep is analogous to the drinking from Lethe done by the souls when they leave the Underworld, and Endymion's love-affair with Selene symbolizes the attraction of the soul to the heavenly realm, according to Cumont (1942) 249 and 251. In the *VH*, the long thirty-day sleep is the prelude to the voyagers' return to the sea of matter, in other words, to a reincarnation. Plutarch (*De Gen.* 592E) says that the end of Timarchus' vision in the cave of Trophonius was heralded by a sharp pain in the head.

Ὀδυσσεὺς Καλυψοῖ . . . ἀθανασίαν: the opening words ὡς τὰ πρῶτα are not quite accurate: in *Od.* 5.278, Odysseus actually travels for 17 days on a calm sea (cf. Ollier [1962] 87). Lucian is playing with his source material here: in *Od.* 5.29–31 Zeus sends a message to Calypso via Hermes; in the *VH*, Odysseus sends a message to Calypso via

Lucian; a message from an immortal to free Odysseus becomes a message from Odysseus regretting that he was freed and that he gave up the chance of immortality. The tone of the letter is not unlike the sarcastic and dissatisfied note struck by Penelope in Ov. *Her.* 1. The fact that the narrator is entrusted with the letter emphasizes his role as an Odysseus character in the narrative.

ὑπὸ Τηλεγόνου . . . ἀνῃρέθην: this was related in the *Telegony* attributed to the 6th-century BCE poet Eugam(m)on of Cyrene. In the summary in Proclus' *Chrestomatheia*, we learn that Telegonus, searching for his father, killed him unwittingly and ended up marrying Penelope. Circe makes Odysseus and Penelope immortal; see further, Huxley (1969) 168–73.

μετανοῶν . . . πρὸς σέ: cf. *Od.* 5.136 for Calypso's promise of immortality which Odysseus now regrets he did not accept. In answer to the question why Odysseus did not accept the immortality offered to him, Aristotle says that Homer has Odysseus give this account to the Phaeacians, so as to make a more august impression (σεμνότερος φαίνηται) on them, because it was opportune for him to be sent away as quickly as possible. This was one of the questions posed by Aristotle in his lost collection entitled Ἀπορήματα Ὁμηρικά or τὰ Ὁμήρου προβλήματα (Arist. fr. 178 [Rose]; thirty-eight quotations are preserved, mainly in Porph. *Quaest. Hom.*). In *Od.* 11.441–3 Agamemnon warns Odysseus not to trust any woman, including Penelope, but here it is *Odysseus'* fidelity which is suspect. The letter makes fun by implication of Odysseus' desire—proclaimed often in the *Odyssey*—to be united with his wife; once this was achieved, it ceased to be satisfying. The lack of closure in the *VH* is perhaps motivated by a similar desire to undermine Homer's authority: the enquiring mind of the narrator is not satisfied by the end of the second book; see n. on 2.46 below.

2.36

τὸ σπήλαιον . . . Ὅμηρος εἶπεν: cf. *Od.* 5.57–61, the cave of Calypso, on which Lucian chooses not to elaborate, probably because it was well known. This time, unlike in 2.33, he does not correct Homer.

ταλασιουργοῦσαν . . . πολὺ ἐδάκρυσεν: cf. *Od.* 5.62, where Calypso is weaving; Calypso's tears could be motivated by the revealing of her feelings in 190–1, where she says "my heart is not of iron, but I feel pity".

εἰ σωφρονοίη . . . ἐκόμπαζεν: the much-vaunted *sophrosyne* of Penelope is treated with some irony here. Also, as Ollier (1962) 88 points out, the picture of Odysseus "boasting" about it does not quite correspond to his words in *Od.* 5.215–17: "I know very well that wise (περίφρων) Penelope is less impressive to look upon in beauty and stature than you". There was a hostile tradition in which Penelope was rather less virtuous: Apollod *Epit.* 7.38 tells how Antinous seduced her and Odysseus drove her out of his palace (cf. Lycophr. *Alex.* 771–3; 792); see further, Jacobson (1974) 243–9; Suzuki (1989) 91 n. 49.

τοιαῦτα ἀπεκρινάμεθα . . . αὐτήν: psychological realism, which has the effect of making the narrator, once again, seem reliable and credible. It is also just the kind of thing Odysseus would have done.

2.37–42: STRANGE MARITIME ADVENTURES

2.37

Κολοκυνθοπειραταῖς: "Pumpkin-pirates" sailing in pumpkin shells with a reed for a mast and pumpkin leaves for sails; cf. the men who sail on their backs using their penises as masts (2.45). The κολοκύνθη is symbolic of health and life, because of its juiciness: cf. Diosc. 2.134; 4.176. It appears to have been proverbially contrasted with the lily; cf. Diph. fr. 98 [*PCG*]: ἢ κολοκύντην ἢ κρίνον "either living or dead".

Καρυοναῦται: "Nut-sailors"; Henderson (1991) 126 says that κάρυα was a slang term for testicles and compares Aristoph. *Lys.* 1059 and 1181, where the Karystians are "well-endowed men", and Plut. *De Stoic. rep.* 1056.

2.39

ὀχούμενοι . . . ἀναπηδῶντες ἐχρεμέτιζον ὥσπερ ἵπποι: for men mounted on dolphins, cf. *VH* 2.45, where men sitting on corks are pulled along by dolphins. Both incidents may be parodying the story of Arion in Hdt. 1.23, cf. *D.Mar.* 5(8). The first detail, of the dolphins jumping like horses, is accurate, but the second is a typically Lucianic flight of the imagination. This is another good example of the blending of the true or likely with the totally impossible. The verb χρεμετίζω has a distinguished pedigree: *Il.* 12.51; Hdt. 3.86–7; Plat. *Rep.* 396B; *Phdr.* 254D. Burkert (1972) 359–60 connects an escort of dolphins

with the journey of the deified dead to the Isles of the Blessed in archaic art.

σηπίαις ξηραῖς . . . καρκίνων: the cuttlefish (σηπία) was known for its method of defence, emission of an inky fluid; cf. Aristoph. *Ach.* 351. For crabs' eyes, cf. the Crab-hands in 1.35. The expression "to stare like a crab" is used in Herodas 4.44 and Cunningham (1971) 136 explains as follows: "a crab's eyes stand out from the head, and it stares in a vacant manner".

2.40

μεσονύκτιον γαλήνης . . . παμμεγέθει: the calm fits with the "halcyon days" in winter when the halcyon builds its nest, cf. Aristoph. *Av.* 1594; Arist. *HA* 542b15. Pliny *HN* 10.90 says that when they breed the sea is calm and navigable, especially around Sicily. The word γαλήνη may be a Homeric echo; it appears in *Od.* 5.452; 12.168; 10.94; 7.319. In the *Halcyon*, which is in the Lucianic corpus but probably not by Lucian, the sound of the kingfisher starts a dialogue between Chaerephon and Socrates. On ancient knowledge of the kingfisher, see Pollard (1977) 96–8.

σταδίων . . . περίμετρον: Aristotle (*HA* 616a23) says kingfisher nests are bigger than the largest sponges. Pliny (*HN* 10.91) records that their nests are admired for their shape, which is like a ball, and that they look like very large sponges. They cannot be cut with a knife, but break if struck hard, like dry sea foam (*ut spuma arida maris*); the material of which it is constructed is unknown. On the construction of the nest, see further, Arist. *HA* 616a19; 31; Ael. *NA.* 9.17.

ᾤχετο: Aristotle *HA* 542b24–5 says it is rare to see a halcyon. Pliny *HN* 10.90 confirms that it is rarely seen, and only at the setting of the Pleiades, the summer solstice and in midwinter, when it occasionally flies round a ship and immediately goes away to its hiding-place (*nave aliquando circumvolata statim in latebras abeuntem*).

ᾠὰ πεντακόσια . . . γυπῶν: Pliny *HN* 10.90 states that the kingfisher lays five eggs: Lucian's five hundred is a wild exaggeration, but preserves the element of five. The Chian *pithos* recalls the Chian wine in 1.7 and may be an indication that we are in the realm of poetic fantasy here. For the use of axes, we may compare Arist. *HA* 616a26 where iron is recommended. The vulture recalls the Horse-vultures in 1.11 and the verb ἐξεκολάψαμεν the hatching out of the Dendritai

in 1.22. In the "Fourth Voyage of Sinbad", the hero comes across the giant egg of the huge bird called the *rukh*': see Lane (1840–1) 3.53 and 103 n. 62; cf. 3.17–18 and 90–1 n. 22.

2.41

χηνίσκος . . . ἀνεβόησεν: this refers to the figure-head of a goose or a swan sculpted as an ornament on a ship, cf. *J. Trag.* 47; *Nav.* 5. On the goose-head as a standard ornament on the stern, see Casson (1971) 347–348. Lucian is alluding specifically to the speaking stern of the Argo in Apoll. Rh. *Arg.* 4.580–3, which he also ridicules in *Gall.* 2, along with Xanthus, Achilles' talking horse (*Il.* 19.404) and the cattle of the Sun (*Od.* 12.395). The talking ornament sets the scene for the Ox-heads and the Circean episode of the Ass-legs which follow shortly.

Σκίνθαρος φαλακρὸς . . . ἀνεκόμησεν: the helmsman of the Isis in *Nav.* 6 has receding hair (ἀναφαλαντίας). See the introductory n. to the Whale epsiode above, regarding Heracles' loss of hair in the whale, and n. on the bald moonmen in 1.23. If baldness is connected with the dead, as it appears to be in *D.Mort.* 6(20).4, then Scintharus' sudden sprouting of hair may signify the return to the world of the living or a reincarnation of the soul.

ὁ γὰρ ἱστὸς . . . πέπειρος: the scholiast says the author is alluding to the biblical rod of Aaron [Rabe, 24]; cf. Stengel (1911) 49. The scene is principally a parody of the miraculous events detailed in the *Homeric Hymn to Dionysus* (6), espec. 38–42; cf. Ov. *Met.* 3. 664–7; James (1975). Ollier (1962) 92 comments on the "black raisin-grapes not yet ripe": the grape has the appearance of the black raisin without really having the maturity; this is part of the prodigy. On Dionysian elements in the *VH*, and the possible use of the *Dionysus* as a *prolalia*, see n. on Lucian's Introduction 1.1–4 above; Stengel *ib.* 47–50; 92; Bompaire (1958) 665 n. 3; G-L (1994) 1500–05 and (1995).

2.42

ὕλην μεγίστην . . . καθάπερ ἐν θαλάττῃ . . . ἐπισυρόμενοι: for trees in the sea, cf. Antig. 132 (*PG* p. 90), Megasthenes' statement that trees grow in the Indian Sea; Ps.-Arist. *De Mundo* 396a23. Pines and cypresses have been mentioned before: there is a "pitchy dew" in the Isle of the Wicked (2.29); on the cypress, see n. on 1.40 above. Mt. Ida on

Crete was famous for its cypress forests, according to Theophr. *HP* 3.2.6; 4.1.3; cf. Pliny *HN* 16.142. The narrator climbing the tree to see the size of the forest recalls Odysseus on the rock in *Od.* 10.146–8, while the phrase τὴν κόμην τῶν δένδρων might be an echo of *Od.* 23.195, κόμην τανυφύλλου ἐλαίης. With sailing across the tops of the trees we may compare sailing on the ice in 2.2. The wind which carries them atop the trees parallels the whirlwind which lifts the ship into the sky in Book 1.

τὸ 'Αντιμάχου . . . ἐρχομένοισιν: Antimachus of Colophon, who wrote a *Thebaid*, which was often criticized in antiquity; the quotation reads "To those journeying through a forest voyage".

2.43–45: THE CHASM IN THE SEA, THE OX-HEADS AND THE PHALLONAUTS

2.43–44

These incidents allude to part of the myth of Er: the sea chasm and the bridge to the passage of souls to the heavenly realm, and the Βουκέφαλοι to the fierce and fiery looking men (615E) standing by the earthly chasm. Lucian makes two incidents out of his source. The Βουκέφαλοι may also allude to Empedocles' theories about the generation of hybrid forms (B 61–2 [D-K]).

ὕλην . . . καθαροῦ καὶ διαυγοῦς: the clean, clear water suggests that some kind of purification is taking place. On the significance of the clarity of the water, see n. on 1.7 above.

χάσματι μεγάλῳ . . . διαχωρίσματα: this is an echo of Plat. *Rep.* 614C: "until they came to a wonderfully strange place . . . two gaping chasms in the earth and opposite and above them two other chasms in the sky". In Plato, we have chasms in the earth and the air; in the *VH* the third possibility, chasms in the water (Hdt. 4.85: χάσμα πελάγεος) which are like the cracks made in the ground by earthquakes (cf. *Rep.* 359D). In *Philops.* 24, Eucrates tells how Hecate leaped into a chasm "as deep as Tartarus" and how he looked down into it and saw the souls in the Underworld. Cleodemus then relates (25) how he was led through a chasm into Hades. In *Dea Syr.* 13, the narrator sees the chasm under the temple of Hera, which was built by Deucalion; the chasm had swallowed all the waters during the Flood.

βάθος . . . φοβερὸν καὶ παράδοξον: the equivalent of Plato's earthly chasm. The journey of the souls underground lasts a thousand years (*Rep.* 615A; Phdr. 248E–249A); the chasm in Lucian's sea is a thousand stades deep.

κατὰ δεξιὰ . . . γέφυραν . . . εἰς τὴν ἑτέραν διαρρέοντος: the crossing of the bridge from one sea into another is like Er's passage from the "wonderfully strange place" to the heavenly chasm, achieved with the permission of the "savage fiery" people. In Plat. *Rep.* 614C, the route upward is on the right hand side. In 616A there is an anxiety about being allowed to pass similar to that which Lucian and his companions experience (μετὰ πολλῆς ἀγωνίας . . . προσδοκήσαντες).

2.44

ἄνθρωποι ἄγριοι, Βουκέφαλοι: the unfriendly people predicted by Rhadamanthus in 2.27. There are echoes of the Laestrygonians here (*Od.* 10.82–132). The Ox-heads continue the general interest in hybrid forms running through the narrative. On the possible sources of the Ox-heads, see Empedocles B 61 [D-K] and Simplicius *In Arist. Phys.* 371.33–372.10 on creatures of composite form, including those born of a cow with human foreparts (βουγενῆ ἀνδρόπρῳρα) and those men born with the head of a cow (ἀνδροφυῆ βούκρανα); cf. also Guthrie (1962–81) 2.203–4. Aristotle dealt with Empedocles' "man-faced young of cows" in his *Phys.* 198b–199b (cf. Simplicius, *In Phys.* 371.30–10; 380.19–381.29). Such deformities in nature are associated with mistakes in the products of art (*Phys.* 199a33) and the hybrids in the *VH* may be one way for Lucian to depict the "mistaken" forms of false or lying historical narratives. Artemidorus *Oneir.* 1.39 says that to dream of having the horns of an ox indicates violent death, since, for the most part, it signifies that the dreamer will be beheaded. Lucian has Zeus with ram's horns in *Deor. Conc.* 10. He has varied the bulls without horns of 2.3 by creating men with horns here. On souls as daughters of the cow, i.e. of the moon, and the moon as a bull, see Buffière (1956) 435; Plut. *De Fac.* 945C; also in Porph. *De Antr.* 18, Hermes the "thief of cattle" is the one who leads the souls away.

οἷον παρ' ἡμῖν τὸν Μινώταυρον . . . αἰχμαλώτους ἔχοντες: cf. the comparison of the Vine-women to representations of Daphne in 1.8. This points to connections with the Minotaur myth, on which see Gantz

(1993) 260–8. The killling and eating of three of Lucian's companions recalls the sacrificing of youths and maidens to the Minotaur each year (Plut. *Thes.* 15–17.3); then the tables are turned and they kill fifty of the Ox-heads and capture two, which echoes Theseus' killing of the creature. Many of Odysseus' men are eaten by the Laestrygonians (τὰ κρέα . . . διαιρουμένοις echoes, *Od.* 10.115 and 124) and two are lost to Polyphemus (9.288–90). In addition, there are fifty companions at the beginning of Lucian's voyage—plus the narrator and the helmsman—and two are detained by the Vine-women in 1.8; in 2.26, there are fifty heroes on the ship chasing Cinyras and Helen.

μυκηθμὸς: cf. Plat. *Rep.* 615E: the mouth of the chasm bellows, when anyone who has not paid the full penalty or is incurably wicked tries to pass through it; the sound is recognized by the savage and fiery ones standing by, and they do not let people through but torture them brutally. In the *VH*, these beings appear to become the Βουκέφαλοι.

κτείνομεν . . . αἰχμαλώτους ἔχοντες: the travellers are more combative now; the only time they showed similar valour before was when they fought in the Whale. They no longer seem to be driven along by events but are beginning to take control of their destiny. In the *Odyssey*, by contrast, Odysseus and company flee from the Laestrygonians (10.127–32). The episode also alludes to the Cattle of the Sun incident in *Od.* 12.

τὰ λύτρα . . . συμπεφύκεσαν: an unusual ransom, but the travellers' need for food echoes several such moments in Odysseus' account of his adventures. The doe might recall the large stag which Odysseus kills for food on Circe's island in *Od.* 10.157–71.

2.45

καὶ ναῦται . . . ἔπλεον: a description of the Phallonauts: they sail themselves along using their penises as masts and stretching sails from them. In Aristoph. *Pax*, Trygaeus says he has an oar (πηδάλιον) if the dung-beetle should fall into the sea (142), and he means not an actual oar but a phallus. The Phallonauts must have big penises; cf. Ctes. ap. Phot. 72, 46b9 on the large genitals of the Pygmies. Various phallus-hybrids appear in art: for the phallus-bird and phallus-horse, see Dover (1989) 133. In *Dea Syr.* 28–9, Lucian describes the Phallus-climbers (φαλλοβατεῖς), who ascend Dionysian *phalloi.*

ἐπὶ φελλῶν . . . περισκοποῦντες: Ollier (1962) 96 suggests Lucian may have been inspired by sculptures or paintings showing Amphitrite and Poseidon on chariots drawn by sea monsters. Cf. the Cork-feet in 2.4. They do the travellers no harm and could conceivably represent the Menippean school of philosophers in allegorical terms. This vision of harmless male sexuality contrasts with the dangerous vision of female sexuality in the Vine-women and Ass-legs.

2.46–47: THE ASS-LEGS AND THE SHIPWRECK

On the chain of events here—the encounter with the Ass-legs and a narrow escape from death, followed by the shipwreck and the arrival on the shore of the Other Continent—some indications of possible allegorical meanings are provided by Porphyry at the end of his *De Antr.* 34–5 [80–1]: "Odysseus . . . was the symbol of man passing through the successive stages of γένεσις and so being restored to his place among those beyond all wavecrash and 'ignorant of the sea' . . . He must at one moment confront and conquer the passions, then bewitch and trick them and so totally free himself from them that, stripped of his rags, he may destroy them all—and even so, he will not be freed from his labors until he has become completely free of the sea and wiped away his very experience of the sea and matter . . ." (transl. Lamberton [1983] 39–40).

The Ass-legs episode forms a doublet with the Vine-women incident in 1.8–9, on which see nn. ad loc. above. The Ass-legs blend the tradition of tales of tranformation into an ass, preserved in the *Lucius or the Ass* in the Lucianic corpus, and in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*, with the alarming figures of Lamia and the Empusae. They also owe much to Circe and the Sirens of the *Odyssey*, who threaten to entrap Odysseus, and whom he rejects and escapes. Porphyry (ap. Stob. 1.41.60) comments as follows on the Circe episode in *Od.* 10: "those who are taken over and dominated by the appetitive part of the soul, blossoming forth at the moment of transformation and rebirth, enter the bodies of asses and animals of that sort to lead turbulent lives made impure by love of pleasure and gluttony" (transl. Lamberton, [1983] 10). On Odysseus as a fighter against vices, see Buffière (1956) 377–80. On allegorical readings of the Sirens, see Buffière *ib.* 380–6; 418; 467–81; Rahner (1963) 326–86; Kaiser (1964) 111–36; on Circe, see Buffière *ib.* 237; 379; 500–20; Kaiser *ib.* 197–213. On the Ass-legs, see Anderson (1976c) 24; 48–9; 54–5; 60; 112.

ἑταιρικῶς . . . ἐπισυρόμεναι: for the tradition that the Sirens were courtesans, see Buffière (1956) 236–7; Kaiser (1964) 121–7; Heracl. *De Incred.* 14. The long Ionian robe hides the true nature of the Ass-legs (see Larmour [1997] 142–4); for statues of Sirens of similar appearance, see RL vol. 4.601–39.

Κοβαλοῦσα . . . Ὑδαμαρδία: Schwartz reads Κοβαλοῦσσα, after Guyet's Κοβαλοῦσα, which yields "Trickery" or "Witchery", from κόβαλα meaning tricks or knavery. If we read Καβαλοῦσα (with Ω, cf. καβαλλοῦσα Γ^aβ), the name of the island may be connected with καταβάλλω, meaning "strike down" or "kill". Another possibility is a derivation from καβάλλης, meaning "nag" like Lat. *caballus* (Plut. *De Vit. aer. al.* 828E), given the asinine element in the inhabitants' name. The name of the city looks like "Water-town" which is appropriate given the fact that the Ass-legs are creatures of the sea.

λαχοῦσαι . . . κρανία κείμεναι: each Ass-leg takes one of the voyagers home with her, which is reminiscent of each of the daughters of Danaus planning to murder her husband on their wedding-night (Apollod. 2.1.5). The bones lying around recall the island of the Sirens in *Od.* 12.45–6. The narrator is the one who has misgivings, much as he is the one who decides to escape from the whale in 2.1.

μαλάχην: the mallow was given to the narrator by Rhadamanthus in 2.28 for precisely this sort of situation, cf. the moly given to Odysseus by Hermes in *Od.* 10.304, which represents reason (Buffière [1956] 515). In Porphyry ap. Stob. 1.41.60, we read "Hermes with his golden staff—in reality, reason (*logos*)—meets the soul and clearly points the way to the good. He either bars the soul's way and prevents its reaching the witch's brew or, if it drinks, watches over it and keeps it as long as possible in a human form" (transl. Lamberton [1983] 11). See also n. on the Vine-women in 1.8.

τὰ σκέλη οὐ γυναικός, . . . Ὀνοσκελέας: on the origin of the name Ὀνοσκελής, see Aristocles fr. 1 [Stob. 4.20.74, *PG* p. 390]: a young man who hated women had sexual intercourse with a female ass; she gave birth to a most beautiful daughter whose name was Ὀνοσκελία. Also Ὀνοσκελίς is given as the name of an Empusa (*schol.* Aristoph. *Eccl.* 1048; see further, "Empusa" *RE* 5.2, cols. 2540–3 [Waser]): she was a nocturnal bogey, identified with Hecate (Alciphr. 3.26.3), who was noted for her disguises (Aristoph. *Ra.* 288–95) and lustfulness (Phil. *VA* 4.25). In fr. 25 [Des Places], Numenius likens the

philosopher Arcesilaus, whom he calls a sophist, to the Empusae: "for just like the Empusae, through the phantom figures of his arguments, through preparation and through long practice he enchanted, he charmed" (transl. Petty [1993] 42).

σπασάμενος . . . ἀνέκρινον: cf. *Od.* 10.321–2: Odysseus draws his sword and rushes at Circe as if he is going to kill her (just as Hermes told him to, 10.294–5). Circe clasps his knees and takes him to bed, but he is protected by the moly. Here, Lucian ties the Ass-leg up in a manner reminiscent of the binding of Proteus in *Od.* 4.454–63 and questions her about everything.

τροφὴν . . . ξένους: cf. the warnings about Circe (*Od.* 10.281–301; cf. 337–44) and the Sirens (12.39–46; cf. 184–91). Arrian (*Ind.* 31.6–8) tells a story of the Nereid living on the mysterious island of Nosala, who welcomed sailors but turned them into fish and threw them into the sea; these people became the Fish-eaters when the sun turned them back into human form.

ὕδωρ ἐγένετο . . . αἷμα ἐγένετο: they are women of the sea, as she said; cf. *Od.* 10.350–1: Circe's four handmaidens are "children of the springs and groves and of the sacred rivers flowing to the sea". Circe herself is the daughter of Perse, a child of Ocean (*Od.* 10.139).

2.47

τὴν ἀντιπέρας . . . κειμένην: cf. Nav. 44 and *Demon.* 22 on antipodean peoples. The other continent, foretold by Rhadamanthus at 2.27, owes something to the Atlantis myth (Plat. *Tim.* 24E) or other vague notions of another land across the Atlantic. For the "other continent" in Pythagorean thought, see Burkert (1972) 347–8. The other continent could be another world of the dead or place of purification, in which we assume the psychic voyage of the narrator and his companions continues. The implication is perhaps that there is no way back to the world from whence they came (Rhadamanthus appears to have his doubts about this in his prophecy in 2.28: εἰ καί ποτε ἀφικοίμην ἐς τήνδε τὴν γῆν). This would tend to support the idea that they are already dead. On the other hand, the narrator of the story has apparently returned, like Er, and is now telling us his adventures. The other continent could also be the home which they set out from, but no longer recognize or look at the same way (cf. the use of εἰκάζω, meaning "infer from comparison" or "make a guess"), after their voyage for knowledge. There is some debate between

those companions of the narrator who favour going back and those who want to go on. In Antonius Diogenes and Iambulus, there was apparently a return to Greece at the end of the narrative.

προσκυνήσαντες: this is exactly what they did when they came upon the inscription of Heracles and Dionysus in 1.7. This continues the ring composition, as the narrative comes to its end.

χειμὼν ... ἁρπασάμενοι: on the symbolism of shipwrecks, see Péron (1974) 309–324; Kahlmeyer (1934) 32–4. In *Bis Acc.* 21, Epicurus pictures man as shipwrecked and swimming in a sea of pain, and yearning for calm water (cf. *Pisc.* 29). The shipwrecked soul tries to attach itself to the moon in Plut. *De Fac.* 943D, and she pushes back into the waves those on point of reaching her. In the *De Gen.* 593F–594A men are like swimmers in the sea, watched by the *daimones*, who eventually help them ashore, when their journey is over. Porphyry *De Ant.* 34 [79], citing Numenius, sees the end of the soul's Odyssean journey through successive stages of γένεσις in terms of reaching a harbour and a place "beyond all wavecrash" (see Lamberton [1983] 39). The ship of the Phaeacians is wrecked by Poseidon on its return from Ithaca (*Od.* 13.159–87).

τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ... διηγήσομαι: the biggest lie of all, as the scholiast says: καὶ τὸ τέλος ψευδέστατον μετὰ τῆς ἀνυποστάτου ἐπαγγελίας. On the ending, see Anderson (1976a) 61 and (1976b) 11. The lack of closure is an antidote to the conclusion of the *Odyssey*, the poem which has been alluded to and parodied throughout the *VH*. Unlike what happens in the Homeric poem, however, there is no restoration of order and a satisfying reunion with a Penelope; the narrator's mind is not ready to stop its journey for knowledge. On the open ending both here and in Poe's *Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym*, and the implications for assessing truth, see Larmour (1997). There can be little doubt that this is the end of the work; Lucian may have wished to leave open the possibility of further adventures, but it is more likely that we should take the closing words as one final parodic stroke. The *VH* has made its point and after three major adventures following the same pattern there would be little point in continuing the parody. To do so, in fact, would run the risk of blunting its impact. One of the keys to good satire and parody is knowing when to stop.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ahl, F.M. (1982) "Amber, Avallon and Apollo's Singing Swan", *AJP* 103: 373–411.

Albrecht, M. von (1965) "Allegorie", in *Lexikon der alten Welt.* Zurich, 121–4.

Alexandre, M. (1988) "Entre le ciel et la terre: les premiers débats sur le site du Paradis", in Jouan and Deforge (1988) 187–224.

Allen, D.C. (1970) *Mysteriously Meant: The Rediscovery of Pagan Symbolism and Allegorical Interpretation in the Renaissance.* Baltimore.

Allen, R.H. (1899) *Star-Names and their Meanings.* New York and London.

Amory, A. (1966) "The Gates of Horn and Ivory", *YCS* 20: 3–57.

Anderson, G. (1976a) *Lucian: Theme and Variation in the Second Sophistic. Mnemosyne Suppl.* 41. Leiden.

—— (1976b) "Lucian's Classics: Some Short Cuts to Culture", *BICS* 23: 59–68.

—— (1976c) *Studies in Lucian's Comic Fiction, Mnemosyne Suppl.* 43. Leiden.

—— (1996) "Lucian's *Verae Historiae*" in Schmeling (1996) 555–61.

Arie, T.H.D. (1959) "Pythagoras and Beans", *Oxford Medical School Gazette* 11: 75–81.

Austin, N. (1994) *Helen of Troy and her Shameless Phantom.* Ithaca.

Baar, A. (1885) "Zwei Kapitel lucianischer Syntax", *Zeitschrift für die österreichischen Gymnasien* 36: 407–419.

Baldwin, B. (1961) "Lucian as Social Satirist", *CQ* 11: 199–208.

Barr, M.S. (1987) *Alien to Femininity: Speculative Fiction and Feminist Theory.* Westport, Connecticut.

Bartels, K. (1967) *Lukian, Zum Mond und darüber hinaus (Ikaromenippus).* Zurich.

Bernays, J. (1879) *Lukian und die Kyniker.* Berlin.

Betz, H.D. (1961) *Lukian von Samosata und das Neue Testament*, Religionsgeschichtliche und Paränetische Parallelen Texte und Untersuchungen der altchristlichen Literatur, vol. 76. Berlin.

Bidez, J. (1932) "La Cité du Monde et la Cité du soleil chez les Stoiciens", *Bull. Acad. Royale de Belgique*, Sér. 5, 18: 244–94.

Bigwood, J.M. (1989) "Ctesias' *Indika* and Photius", *Phoenix* 43.4: 302–316.

Blomqvist, B. (1989) *The Date and Origin of the Greek Version of Hanno's Periplus*, Scripta Minora, Regiae Societatis Humanarum Litterarum Lundensis, 1979–80: 3. Lund.

Bloomfield, M.W., ed. (1981) *Allegory, Myth, and Symbol.* Cambridge, Mass.

Boardman, J. (1989) "Herakles at Sea", in *Festschr. für Nikolaus Himmelmann*, ed. H.-U. Cain et al., Beiträge zur Ikonographie und Hermeneutik. Mainz am Rhein, 191–5.

Boedeker, D.D. (1984) *Descent from Heaven: Images of Dew in Greek Poetry and Religion.* American Classical Studies, 13. Chico, California.

Boll, F. (1903) *Sphaera: Neue Griechische Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Sternbilder.* Leipzig.

—— (1907) "Zum griechischen Roman", *Philologus* 20: 1–15.

—— (1914) *Aus der Offenbarung des Johannes*, Stoicheia 1. Leipzig.

Bömer, F. (1969–86) *P. Ovidius Naso: Metamorphosen.* Kommentar, 7 vols. Heidelberg.

Bompaire, J. (1958) *Lucien écrivain: Imitation et création*, Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 190. Paris.

Bonner, R.J., Smith, J. (1970) *The Administration of Justice from Homer to Aristotle.* Chicago.

Bosworth, A.B. (1980) *A Historical Commentary on Arrian's History of Alexander*, vol. 1. Oxford.

Bouché-Leclercq, A. (1899) *L'Astrologie Grecque*. Paris.
Bouquiaux-Simon, O. (1968) *Les Lectures homériques de Lucien*, Academie royale de Belgique, Classe des Lettres, Mémoires 59.2. Brussels.
Bousset, W. (1901) *Die Himmelsreise der Seele*. Leiden. [repr. 1960].
Bowersock, G.W. (1994) *Fiction as History: Nero to Julian*. Berkeley and London.
Bowra, C.M. (1963) "Arion and the Dolphin", *Museum Helveticum* 20: 121–134.
Bozzetto, R. (1980) "Kepler's *Somnium*; or, Science Fiction's Missing Link", *Science Fiction Studies* 17: 370–82.
Branham, R.B. (1991) "Traditional jokes about the punishment of adulterers in ancient Greek Literature", *Liverpool Classical Monthly* 16: 73–6.
Brosse, J. (1989) *Mythologie des Arbres*. Paris.
Brown, T.S. (1946) "Euhemerus and the Historians", *Harvard Theological Review* 39: 259–76.
—— (1949) *Onesicritus. A Study in Hellenistic Historiography*, Univ. of California Publications in History, 39. Berkeley.
—— (1955) "The Reliability of Megasthenes", *AJP* 76: 18–33.
—— (1957) "The Merits and Weaknesses of Megasthenes", *Phoenix* 11: 11–24.
Brown, W.E. (1955) "Some Hellenistic Utopias", *CW* 48: 57–62.
Brumbaugh, R.S., Schwartz, J. (1980) "Pythagoras and Beans: A Medical Explanation", *CW* 73.7: 421–2.
Brunt, P.A. (1976) "Dionysus, Heracles and India" in *Arrian*, Loeb Classical Library, vol. 2. Cambridge, Mass. App. 16, 435–42.
Buffière, F. (1956) *Les Mythes d'Homère et la pensée grecque*. Paris.
—— (1962) *Héraclite: Allégories d'Homère*. Paris.
Burkert, W. (1961) "Hellenistische Pseudopythagorica", *Philologus* 105: 16–43, 226–46.
—— (1972) *Lore and Science in Ancient Pythagoreanism*, transl. by E.L. Minar. Cambridge, Mass.
Burmeister, E. (1843) *Lucianum scriptis suis libros sacros irrisisse negatur*. Güstrow.
Butcher, W. (1990) *Verne's Journey to the Centre of the Self. Space and Time in the Voyages extraordinaires*. New York.
Caizzi, D. (1980) "Τῦφος. Contributo alla storia di un concetto", *Sandalion* 3: 53–66.
Capelle, P. (1917) *De luna stellis lacteo orbe sedibus*, Diss. Halle.
Carpenter, R. (1966) *Beyond the Pillars of Heracles: The Classical World Seen Through the Eyes of its Discoverers*. New York.
Casson, L. (1971) *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World*. Princeton.
—— (1989) *The Periplus Maris Erythrae*. Princeton.
Caster, M. (1937) *Lucien et la Pensée religieuse de son temps*. New York and London. [repr. 1987].
Cataudella, M.R. (1989–90) "Quante erano le colonne d'Ercole?", *Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia* 22–3: 315–37.
Cavafy, C.P. (1992) *Collected Poems*, ed. G. Savidis, transl. by E. Keeley and P. Sherrard. Princeton.
Cherniss, H. (1951) "Notes on Plutarch's *De Facie in orbe lunae*", *CP* 46:137–58.
——, ed. (1957) *De Facie in orbe lunae* in *Plutarch, Moralia* vol. 12, eds. H. Cherniss and W. Helmbold, Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, Mass. and London. 2–223.
Christiansen, I. (1969) *Die Technik der allegorischen Auslegungswissenschaft bei Philon von Alexandria*, Beiträge zur Geschichte der biblischen Hermeneutik 7. Tübingen.
Chroust, A.-H. (1979) "Did the ancient Greeks ever see America or set foot on American soil?", *Serta Philologica Aenipontana* 3, Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Kulturwissenschaft, vol. 20. Innsbruck. 9–15.
Cizek, A. (1975) "From the Historical Truth to the Literary Convention: The Life of Cyrus the Great viewed by Herodotus, Ctesias and Xenophon", *AC* 44: 531–52.
Clader, L.L. (1976) *Helen. The Evolution from Divine to Heroic in Greek Epic Tradition*. Leiden.

Clavier, A. (1972) "Témoignages de tragiques et de lyriques grecs sur le symbolisme solaire", *LEC* 40: 35–42.
Collins, A.Y.C. (1984) "Numerical Symbolism in Jewish and Early Christian Apocalyptic Literature", *ANRW* 2.21.2: 1221–87.
Copeland, R., Melville, S. (1991) "Allegory and Allegoresis: Rhetoric and Hermeneutics", *Exemplaria* 3:1: 159–87.
Coulter, C.C. (1926) "The 'Great Fish' in Ancient and Medieval Story", *TAPA* 57: 32–50.
Coulter, J.A. (1976) *The Literary Microcosm: Theories of Interpretation of the Later Neoplatonists.* Leiden.
Courtney, E. (1962) "Parody and Literary Allusion in Menippean Satire", *Philologus* 106: 86–100.
Cowan, B. (1981) "Walter Benjamin's Theory of Allegory", *New German Critique* 22: 109–22.
Crowther, N.B. (1979) "Water and Wine as Symbols of Inspiration", *Mnemosyne* 32: 1–11.
Csapo, E. (1993a) "Deep Ambivalence: Notes on a Greek Cockfight (Part 1)", *Phoenix* 47: 1–28.
—— (1993b) "Deep Ambivalence: Notes on a Greek Cockfight (Parts 2–4)", *Phoenix* 47: 115–24.
Cumont, F.V.M. (1913) *La Théologie solaire du paganisme romain*, Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres 12, part 2, no. 2. Paris.
—— (1942) *Recherches sur le Symbolisme Funéraire des Romains.* Paris. [repr. 1975].
—— (1949) *Lux Perpetua.* Paris. [repr. 1987].
D'Ippolito, G. (1980) "Narrativa fantascientifica nel mundo grecolatino", in L. Russo, ed. *La Fantascienza e la critica: Testi del Convegno internazionale di Palermo.* Milan. 151–65.
Dane, J.A. (1980) "Parody and Satire: A Theoretical Model", *Genre* 13: 145–59.
—— (1988) *Parody: Critical Concepts versus Literary Practices: Aristophanes to Sterne.* Norman.
Davies, M., Kathirithamby, J. (1986) *Greek Insects.* London.
Dawson, D(avid). (1992) *Allegorical Readers and Cultural Revision in Ancient Alexandria.* Berkeley.
Dawson, D(oyne). (1992) *Cities of the Gods: Communist Utopias in Greek Thought.* Oxford.
Dean-Otting, M. (1984) *Heavenly Journeys: A Study of the Motif in Hellenistic Jewish Literature*, Judentum und Umwelt, no. 8. Frankfurt am Main.
Delatte, A. (1930) "Faba Pythagorae Cognata", *Serta Leodiensia.* Paris and Liège: 33–57.
Denniston, J.D. (1954) *The Greek Particles.* 2nd ed. Oxford.
Denyer, N. (1991) *Language, Thought and Falsehood in Ancient Greek Philosophy.* London and New York.
Deubner, L. (1932) *Attische Feste.* Berlin 1932.
Di Gregorio, L. (1968) "Sugli *Apista Hyper Thoulen* di Antonio Diogene", *Aevum* 42: 199–211.
Diggle, J., ed. (1970) *Euripides, Phaethon.* Oxford.
Dihle, A. (1984) "The Conception of India in Hellenistic and Roman Literature", in *Antike und Orient: Gesammelte Aufsätze*, V. Poeschl and H. Petersmann, eds., SHAW Suppl. 1983, vol. 2. Heidelberg, 89–98.
Dillon, J. (1977) *The Middle Platonists. 80 BC to AD 220.* Ithaca.
Dion, R. (1966) "Pythéas explorateur", *Revue de Philologie* 40: 191–216.
Dodds, E.R. (1959) *Plato: Gorgias.* Oxford.
Dougherty, L.E. (1995) *Siren Songs: Gender, Audiences, and Narrators in the Odyssey.* Ann Arbor.
Dover, K.J. (1989) *Greek Homosexuality.* 2nd ed. Cambridge, Mass.
Downing, C. (1991) *Myths and Mysteries of Same-Sex Love.* New York.

Dumont, J.C. (1966) "A propos d'Aristonicos", *Eirene* 5: 189–96.
Dunbar, N. (1995) *Aristophanes: Birds*. Oxford.
Düntzer, H. (1848) *De Zenodoti studiis Homericis*. Göttingen.
Eddy, W.A. (1923) *Gulliver's Travels: A Critical Study*. Princeton.
Edsman, C.-M. (1949) *Ignis Divinus: Le feu comme moyen de rajeunissement et d'immortalité. Contes, légendes, mythes et rites*, Schrifter utgivna av Vetenskaps-Societeten i Lund, 34. Lund.
Eisler, R. (1910) *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt: Religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zur Urgeschichte des antiken Weltbildes. II.* Munich.
—— (1925) *Orphisch-dionysische Mysteriengedanken in der christlichen Antike*, Vorträge der Bibl. Warburg, 1922–3. Leipzig and Berlin. [repr. 1966].
Eizykman, B. (1985) "Temporality in Science-Fiction Narrative", *Science Fiction Studies* 12: 66–97.
Emlyn-Jones, C. (1986) "True and Lying Tales in the *Odyssey*", *G&R* 33:1–10.
Fauth, W. (1978) "Astraios und Zamolxis über Spuren pythagorischer Aretalogie im Thule-Roman des Antonius Diogenes", *Hermes* 106: 220–41.
Feraboli, S. (1980) "Un appunto alla storia vera di Luciano", *Parola del Passato* 35: 127.
Ferguson, J. (1975) *Utopias of the Classical World*. Ithaca.
Fineman, J. (1991) "The Structure of Allegorical Desire", in *id., The Subjectivity Effect in the Western Literary Tradition: Essays Toward the Release of Shakespeare's Will.* Cambridge, 3–31.
Fletcher, A. (1964) *Allegory: The Theory of a Symbolic Mode.*, Ithaca.
Fontenrose, J.E. (1959) *Python: A Study of Delphic Myth and its Origins*. Berkeley.
Fraser, P.M. (1972) *Ptolemaic Alexandria*. 3 vols. Oxford.
Frazer, J.G. (1918) *Folklore in the Old Testament. Studies in Comparative Religion, Legend and Law*. 3 vols. London.
Fredericks, S.C. (1976) "Lucian's *True History* as SF", *Science Fiction Studies* 3: 49–60.
Funke, H. (1986) "Poesia e Storiografia", *Quaderni di Storia* 12.23: 71–93.
Fusillo, M. (1988) "Le miroir de la Lune: L'*Histoire vraie* de Lucien de la satire à l'utopie", *Poétique* 73: 109–135.
Gabba, E. (1981) "True History and False History in Classical Antiquity", *JRS* 71: 50–62.
Gadofre, G. (1987) *Certitudes et Incertitudes de l'Histoire. Trois Colloques sur l'Histoire de l'Institut collégial européen.* Paris.
Galinsky, G.K. (1972) *The Herakles Theme: The Adaptations of the Hero in Literature from Homer to the Twentieth Century*. Oxford.
Gallop, D. (1971) "Dreaming and Waking in Plato", in *Essays in Ancient Greek Philosophy*, eds. J.P. Anton and G.L. Kustas. Albany, New York, 187–94.
—— (1984) *Parmenides of Elea. Fragments*. Toronto.
—— (1990) *Aristotle on Sleep and Dreams*. Peterborough, Ontario.
Gantz, T. (1993) *Early Greek Myth: A Guide to Literary and Artistic Sources*. Baltimore and London.
Garnier, C.G.T. (1787–89) *Voyages Imaginaires, Songes, Visions, et Romans Cabalistiques*. 36 vols. Amsterdam and Paris.
Garvie, A.F., ed. (1994) *Homer, Odyssey Books VI–VIII*. Cambridge.
Gaster, T.H. (1969) *Myth, Legend and Custom in the Old Testament*. New York.
Georgiadou, A., Larmour, D.H.J. (1994) "Lucian and Historiography: *De Historia Conscribenda* and *Verae Historiae*", *ANRW* 2.34.2:1448–1509.
—— (1995) "The *prolaliae* to Lucian's *Verae Historiae*", *Eranos* 93: 100–12.
—— (1996) "Lucian's *Verae Historiae* as Philosophical Parody", *Hermes*. 123.10: 1–16.
—— (1997) "Lucian's Vine-women (*VH* 1,6–9) and Dio's Libyan Women (*orat* 5): Variations on a Theme", *Mnemosyne* 50: 205–9.
—— (forthcoming) "Lucian's *Verae Historiae* as Philosophical Parody", *Hermes*.

Gerber, R. (1955) *Utopian Fantasy*. London.
Gill, C., Wiseman, T.P. eds. (1993) *Lies and Fiction in the Ancient World*. Austin.
Giraud, Y.F.-A. (1969) *La Fable de Daphne*, Histoire des Idées et Critique Littéraire, vol. 92. Geneva.
Gomme, A.W. (1956) *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides*, vol. 2. Oxford.
Goodenough, E.R. (1928) "Hellenistic Kingship", *YCS* 1: 55–102.
Gottschalk, H.B. (1980) *Heraclides of Pontus*. Oxford.
Gove, P.B. (1961) *The Imaginary Voyage in Prose Fiction: A History of its Criticism and a Guide for its Study, with an Annotated Check List of 215 Imaginary Voyages from 1700 to 1800*. London.
Gow, A.S.F, Page, D.L. (1965) *The Greek Anthology: Hellenistic Epigrams*, 2 vols. Cambridge.
Grant, M. (1995) *Greek and Roman Historians: Information and Misinformation*. London and New York.
Green, R.L. (1975) *Into Other Worlds: Space-Flight in Fiction from Lucian to Lewis*, 2nd ed. New York.
Guilhamet, L. (1987) *Satire and the Transformation of Genre*. Philadelphia.
Gunderson, L. (1980) *Alexander's Letter to Aristotle about India*. Meisenheim am Glan.
Güngerich, R. (1950) *Die Küstenbeschreibung in der griechischen Literatur*. *Orbis Antiquus*, vol. 4. Münster.
Günther, S. (1911) *Vergleichende Mond- und Erdkunde*. Braunschweig.
Guthrie, W.K.C. (1962–81) *History of Greek Philosophy*, 5 vols. Cambridge.
Hackforth, R. (1972) *Plato's Phaedo*. Cambridge.
Hahm, D.E. (1977) *The Origins of Stoic Cosmology*. Columbus.
Hall, J. (1981) *Lucian's Satire*. New York.
Hamilton, W. (1934) "The Myth in Plutarch's *De Facie*", *CQ* 28: 24–30.
Hankinson, R.J. (1995) *The Sceptics*. London and New York.
Hannoosh, M. (1989) *Parody and Decadence: Laforgue's Moralités légendaires*. Columbus.
Harmon, A.M. (1921) "A True Story", Engl. transl. in *Lucian* vol. 3. Loeb Classical Library. London and New York, 247–357.
Hartog, F. (1988) *The Mirror of Herodotus*, transl. by J. Lloyd. Berkeley and Los Angeles.
Haussleiter, J. (1935). *Der Vegetarismus in der Antike*. Berlin.
Heiserman, A. (1977) *The Novel Before the Novel. Essays and Discussions*. Chicago.
Helleman, W.E. (1995) "Penelope as Lady Philosophy", *Phoenix* 49: 283–302.
Helm, R. (1906) *Lucian und Menipp*. Leipzig and Berlin.
Helmbold, W.C., Holther, W.B. (1952) "The Unity of the *Phaedrus*", *Univ. of California Publications in Classical Philology* 14.9: 387–417.
Henderson, J. (1991) *The Maculate Muse: Obscene Language in Attic Comedy*. 2nd ed. Oxford and New York.
Herrmann, L. (1949) "Recherches sur Babrius", *AC* 18: 343–67.
Heubeck, A., West, S., Hainsworth, J.B. (1988) *A Commentary on Homer's Odyssey, vol. 1. Introd. and Books I–VIII*. Oxford.
Highbarger, E.L. (1940) *The Gates of Dreams*. Baltimore.
Holzberg, N. (1996a) "Novel-Like Works of Extended Prose Fiction II: "A: Utopias and Fantastic Travel: Euhemerus, Iambulus", in Schmeling (1996) 621–8.
—— (1996b) "The Genre: Novels Proper and the Fringe", in Schmeling (1996) 12–28.
Honig, E. (1966) *Dark Conceit: The Making of Allegory*. New York.
Householder, F.W. (1941) *Literary Quotation and Allusion in Lucian*. New York.
Hughes-Brock, H. (1985) "Amber and the Myceneans", *Journal of Baltic Studies*, special issue "Studies in Baltic Amber", in J.M. Todd, ed., 16.3: 257–67.
Hultsch, F. (1971) *Scriptores Metrologici*. Leipzig.
Hundt, J. (1935) *Der Traumglaube bei Homer*. Greifswald.

Husson, G. (1970) *Lucien: Le Navire ou les Souhaits.* Paris.
Hutcheon, L. (1985) *A Theory of Parody: The Teachings of Twentieth-Century Art Forms.* New York and London.
Huxley, G.L. (1969) *Greek Epic Poetry from Eumelos to Panyassis.* Cambridge, Mass.
Jackson, R. (1981) *Fantasy: The Literature of Subversion.* London and New York.
Jacob, C. (1981) "Dédale Géographe: Regard et voyage aériens en Grèce", *LALIES*, Actes des sessions de linguistique et de littérature 3: 147–64.
Jacobson, H. (1974) *Ovid's Heroides.* Princeton.
James, A.W. (1975) "Dionysus and the Tyrrhenian Pirates", *Antichthon* 9: 19–34.
Jameson, F. (1977) "Of Islands and Trenches: Neutralization and the Production of Utopian Discourse", *Diacritics* 7.2: 2–22.
Jeffrey, L.H. (1976) *Archaic Greece.* London.
Jerram, C.S. (1879) *Luciani Vera Historia.* Oxford. [repr. 1990].
Jones, R.M. (1926) "Posidonius and the Flight of the Mind through the Universe", *CP* 21: 97–113.
Jouan, F. (1986) *Mort et fécondité dans les mythologies. Actes du Colloque de Poitiers 13–14 mai 1983.* Paris.
Jouan, F., Deforge, B., eds. (1988) *Peuples et pays mythiques: Actes du Ve Colloque du Centre de recherches mythologiques de l'Univ. de Paris X (18–20 sept. 1986).*
Kahlmeyer, J. (1934) *Seesturm und Schiffbruch als Bild im antiken Schrifttum.* Diss. Greifswald, Hildesheim.
Kahn, C.H. (1979) *The Art and Thought of Heraclitus.* Cambridge.
Kaiser, E. (1964) "Odyssee-Szenen als Topoi", *Mus. Helv.* 21: 109–36; 197–224.
Karrer, W. (1977) *Parodie, Travestie, Pastiche.* Munich.
Kartunnen, K. (1984) "Κυνοκέφαλοι and Κυναμολγοί in Classical Ethnography", *Arctos* 18: 31–6.
—— (1988) "Expedition to the End of the World—an ethnographic τόπος in Herodotus", *Studia Orientalia* 64: 177–81.
—— (1992) "Distant Lands in Classical Ethnography", *Grazer Beiträge* 18: 195–204.
Keaney, J.J., Lamberton, R. (1996) *[Plutarch] Essay on the Life and Poetry of Homer.* APA American Classical Studies, no. 40. Atlanta.
Kelley, T.M. (1991) "'Fantastic Shapes': From Classical Rhetoric to Romantic Allegory", *Texas Studies in Literature and Language* 33.2: 225–60.
Kessels, A.H.M. (1969) "Ancient Systems of Dream-Classification", *Mnemosyne* 22: 389–424.
—— (1978) *Studies on the Dream in Greek Literature.* Utrecht.
Keuls, E. (1985) *The Reign of the Phallus.* New York.
Kindstrand, J.F. (1973) *Homer in der Zweiten Sophistik.* Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, Studia Graeca Upsaliensia, 7. Uppsala.
Knaack, G. (1906) "Antiphanes von Berge", *RhMus* 61: 135–8.
Knauer, W. (1914) *De Luciano Menippeo.* Diss. Halle.
Konrad, C. (1994) *Plutarch's Sertorius: A Historical Commentary.* Chapel Hill.
Korus, K. (1986) "Funktionen der literarischen Gattungen bei Lukian", *Eos* 74: 29–38.
Kroll, J. (1931) *Die Himmelfahrt der Seele in der Antike*, Kölner Universitätsreden, 27. Cologne.
Kugler, F.X. (1927) *Sibyllinischer Sternenkampf und Phaethon. Aschendorffs zeitg. Schr. 17.* Münster.
Kühn, H. (1844) *Commentationis, qua Lucianus a crimine librorum sacrorum irrisorum liberatur, Pars 1.* Progr. d. Fürstenschule, 4 mai. Grimmen.
Kula, W. (1986) *Measures and Men*, transl. by R. Szreter. Princeton.
Kurfess, A. (1956) "Zum V. Buch der Oracula Sibyllina", *RhM* 99: 225–41.
Kytzler, B. (1983) *Im Reiche des Eros: Sämtliche Liebes- und Abenteuerromane der Antike*, 2 vols. Munich.
Lachenaud, G. (1993) *Plutarque: Opinion des Philosophes.* Paris.

Lacroix, L. (1974) "Héraclès, héros voyageur et civilisateur", *Acad. royale de Belgique, Bull. de la cl. des Lettres et des Sciences sociales et politiques*, 5th ser., 60.2–3: 34–59.
Lamberton, R. (1983) *Porphyry: On the Cave of the Nymphs*. Barrytown, New York.
—— (1986) *Homer the Theologian: Neoplatonist Allegorical Reading and the Growth of the Epic Tradition*. Berkeley.
—— (1992) "The Neoplatonists and the Spiritualization of Homer", in Lamberton and Keaney (1992) 115–33.
Lamberton, R., Keaney, J.J. (1992) *Homer's Ancient Readers: The Hermeneutics of Greek Epic's Earliest Exegetes*. Princeton.
Lane, E.W. (1840–1) *The Thousand and One Nights*. 3 vols. London.
Larmour, D.H.J. (1997) "Sex with Moonmen and Vinewomen: The Reader as Explorer in Lucian's *Vera Historia*", *Intertexts* 1.2: 131–46.
Lateiner, D. (1990) "Deceptions and Delusions in Herodotus", *ClAnt* 9: 230–46.
Ledergerber, P.I. (1905) *Lukian und die altattische Komödie*. Diss. Freiburg, Einsiedeln.
Lee, H.D.P. (1936) *Zeno of Elea*. Cambridge.
LeGuin, U.K. (1974) *The Dispossessed. An Ambiguous Utopia*. New York.
Lelièvre, L. (1954) "The Basis of Ancient Parody", *G&R* ser. 2.1: 66–81.
Lesky, A. (1936) "Dionysus und Hades", *WS* 54: 24–32.
—— (1947) *Thalatta: Der Weg der Griechen zum Meer*. Vienna.
Levet, J.-P. (1976) *Le Vrai et le Faux dans la Pensée grecque archaïque, Étude de Vocabulaire*. Paris.
Levin, D. (1961) "Odysseus' Truthful Untruths", *CB* 37: 76.
Levine, D.B. (1988–9) "Acorns and Primitive Life in Greek and Latin Literature", *CML* 9: 87–95.
—— (1991) "Lucian, *True History* 2.26 Reconsidered: Lust and Punishment", *Helios* 18: 31–3.
Leyburn, E.D. (1956) *Satiric Allegory: Mirror of Man*. New Haven.
Lieber, E. (1970) "Favism in Antiquity", *Koroth* 5: 331–35.
Ligota, C.R. (1982) "This Story is not true: Fact and Fiction in Antiquity", *Journ. of the Warburg and Courtauld Inst.* 45: 1–13.
Lloyd, G.E.R. (1962) "Right and Left in Greek Philosophy", *JHS* 82: 56–66.
Long, A.A. (1996) *Stoic Studies*. Oxford.
Longo, V. (1964) *Luciano e l'Ermotimo*. Genoa.
Luck-Huyse, K. (1997) *Der Traum vom Fliegen in der Antike, Palingenesia* 62. Stuttgart.
Luppe, W.W. (1967) "Das Komikerglossar Pap. Oxy. 1801", *Philologus* 111: 86–109.
MacLachlan, B. (1992) "Feasting with Ethiopians: Life on the Fringe", *QUCC* 40: 15–33.
Macleod, M.D. (1972) *Luciani Opera*. vol. 1. Oxford Classical Text. Oxford.
—— (1991) *Lucian: A Selection*. Warminster.
—— (1994) "Lucianic Studies since 1930", *ANRW* 2.34.4: 1362–1421.
Madsen, D.L. (1994) *Rereading Allegory: A Narrative Approach to Genre*. New York.
Mal-Maeder, D. van. (1992) "Les détournements homériques dans l'Histoire vraie de Lucien: le rapatriement d'une tradition littéraire", *Études des Lettres*, Bulletin de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Lausanne, 2: 123–46.
Malmgren, C.D. (1991) *Worlds Apart: Narratology of Science Fiction*. Bloomington.
Malten, L. (1923–4) "Leichenspiel und Totenkult", *Röm. Mitt.* 38–9: 300–40.
Marcovich, M. (1971) "Der Gott Lychnos", *RhMus* 114: 333–9.
Markiewicz, H. (1966) "On the Definitions of Literary Parody", in *To Honor Roman Jakobson*, II. The Hague: 1264–72.
Maryon, H. (1956) "The Colossus of Rhodes", *JHS* 76: 68–86.
Mastronarde, D.J. (1994) *Euripides: Phoenissae*. Cambridge.
Matteuzzi, M. (1976) "Due note al testo della storia vera di Luciano", *A&R* 21: 180–1.
Mazzucchi, C.M. (1992) *Dionisio Longino Del Sublime*, Biblioteca di Aevum Antiquum 4, Istituto di Filologia Classica e di Papirologia: Milan.
McCarthy, B.P. (1934) "Lucian and Menippus", *YCS* 4: 3–55.

McConnell, F. (1981) *The Science Fiction of H.G. Wells.* Oxford.
McCrindle, J.W. (1882) *Ancient India as described by Ktesias the Knidian.* Calcutta. [repr. 1987].
Merkelbach, R. (1962) *Roman und Mysterium in der Antike.* Munich and Berlin.
Mette, H.J. (1952) *Pytheas von Massalia.* Berlin.
Michell, J. (1988) *The Dimensions of Paradise: The Proportions and Symbolic Numbers in Ancient Cosmology.* London and San Francisco.
Miller, P.C. (1994) *Dreams in Late Antiquity: Studies in the Imagination of a Culture.* Princeton.
Monleón, J.B. (1990) *A Specter is Haunting Europe: A Sociohistorical Approach to the Fantastic.* Princeton.
Moret, J.-M. (1993) "Les Départs des Enfers dans L'Imagerie Apulienne", *Rev. Arch.* n.s. 1993.2: 293–351.
Morgan, J.R. (1985) "Lucian's *True Histories* and the *Wonders Beyond Thule* of Antonius Diogenes", *CQ* 35: 475–90.
—— (1996) "Heliodorus" in Schmeling (1996) 417–55.
Morgan, J.R., Stoneman, R., eds. (1994) *Greek Fiction: The Greek Novel in Context.* London and New York.
Morrow, G.R. (1960) *Plato's Cretan City: A Historical Interpretation of the Laws.* Princeton.
Mossé, C. (1969) "Les Utopies égalitaires à l'époque hellénistique", *Revue Historique* 241: 297–308.
Most, G.W. (1989) "Cornutus and Stoic Allegoresis: A Preliminary Report", *ANRW* 2.36.3: 2014–65.
Moylan, T. (1986) *Demand the Impossible: Science Fiction and the Utopian Imagination.* New York and London.
Müri, W. (1931) Σύμβολον. Berne.
Myers, R.E., ed. (1983) *The Intersection of Science Fiction and Philosophy: Critical Studies.* Westport. Connecticut and London.
Nagy, J.F. (1981) "The Deceptive Gift in Greek Mythology", *Arethusa* 14.2: 191–204.
Navia, L.E. (1996) *Classical Cynicism: A Critical Study,* Contributions in Philosophy, 58. Westport, Connecticut.
Nickau, K. (1997) *Untersuchungen zur textkritischen Methode des Zenodotus von Ephesos.* Berlin and New York.
Nicolson, M.H. (1936) *A World in the Moon,* Smith College Studies in Modern Languages, 17.2. Northampton, Mass.
—— (1940) "Cosmic Voyages", *ELH* 7: 83–107.
—— (1948) *Voyages to the Moon.* New York.
Nilsson, M.P. (1950) "Lampen und Kerzen im Kult der Antike", *Opuscula Archaeologica* 6: 96–111. Lund.
—— (1961) *Geschichte der griechischen Religion,* 2nd ed. vol. 2, Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft, 5.2.2. Munich.
Noiville, J. (1929) "Les Indes de Bacchus et d'Héracles", *RPhil* 55: 245–69.
O'Meara, D.J. (1989) *Pythagoras Revived: Mathematics and Philosophy in Late Antiquity.* Oxford.
Ollier, F. (1962) *Lucien: Histoire Vraie,* Coll. Érasme, Série grecque, no. 4. Paris.
Onians, R.B. (1954) *The Origins of European Thought about the Body, the Mind, the Soul, the World, Time and Fate,* 2nd ed. Cambridge.
Page, C. (1991) "The Truth about Lies in Plato's *Republic*", *Ancient Philosophy* 11: 1–13.
Parker, R. (1984) "Sex, Women, and Ambiguous Animals", *Phronesis* 29.2: 174–87.
Parry, H. (1994) "The Apologos of Odysseus: Lies, All Lies?", *Phoenix* 48: 1–20.
Peck, A.L. (1943) *Aristotle: Generation of Animals.* English Trans. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, Mass.
Pédech, P. (1978) "Le Paysage marin dans la Géographie grecque", *Caesarodunus* 13: 30–9.

—— (1984) *Historiens compagnons d'Alexandre*. Paris. 146–55.
Peigney, J. (1988) "La Phéacie, terre poétique", in Jouan and Deforge (1988) 47–56.
Pépin, J. (1965) "Porphyre, exégète d'Homère", in *Porphyre*. Entretiens Hardt. Vandoeuvres-Geneva, 12: 229–72.
—— (1967) "Remarques sur la théorie d'exégèse allégorique chez Philon", in *Philon d'Alexandrie: Colloque National sur Philon d'Alexandrie, Lyon 1966*. Paris, 131–67.
Péron, J. (1974) *Les Images maritimes de Pindare*. Paris.
Petr, P., Roberts, D., Thomson, P., eds. (1985) *Comic Relations: Studies in the Comic, Satire, and Parody*. Frankfurt am Main and New York.
Petty, R.D. (1993) *The Fragments of Numenius: Text, Translation, and Commentary*. Ph.D. Diss. Univ. of California at Santa Barbara.
Philips, M., ed. (1984) *Philosophy and Science Fiction*. Buffalo.
Pierce, J.J. (1987–9) *Imagination and Evolution, vol. 1. Foundations of Science Fiction*; Contributions to the Study of Science Fiction and Fantasy, nos. 25, 29, 36. Westport, Connecticut.
Pocock, L.G. *Reality and Allegory in the Odyssey*. Amsterdam.
—— (1965) *Odyssean Essays*. Oxford.
Pöhlman, R. von (1925) *Geschichte der Sozialen Frage und des Sozialismus in der Antiken Welt*. Munich.
Poliakoff, M. (1987) *Combat Sports in the Ancient World: Competition, Violence, and Culture*. New Haven.
Pollard, J. (1977) *Birds in Greek Life and Myth*. London.
Ponsich, M. (1974) "La Navigation antique dans le Détroit de Gibraltar", *Littérature Gréco-Romaine et Géographie Historique, Mélanges offerts à Roger Dion*. 257–73. Paris.
Porphyry, Cave of the Nymphs. (1969), Text and Translation by Seminar Classics 609. Arethusa Monographs 1. Buffalo.
Porter, J.I. (1992) "Hermeneutic Lines and Circles: Aristarchus and Crates on the Exegesis of Homer", in Lamberton and Keaney (1992) 67–114.
Pratt, L.H. (1993) *Lying and Poetry from Homer to Pindar: Falsehood and Deception in Archaic Greek Poetics*. Ann Arbor.
Préaux, C. (1973) *La Lune dans la pensée grecque. Académie royale de Belgique, Mémoire de la Classe des Lettres*, fasc. 4. Brussels.
Preisendanz, K., ed. (1928) *Papyri Graecae Magicae: Die Griechischen Zauberpapyri*. Leipzig and Berlin.
Press, G.A. (1982) *The Development of the Idea of History in Antiquity*. Kingston, Ontario.
Prickard, A.O. (1911) *Plutarch on the Orb which appears on the Face of the Moon*. Winchester and London.
Pritchett, W.K. (1974) *Greek State at War, part II*. Berkeley.
—— (1979) *The Greek State at War, part III: Religion*. Berkeley.
—— (1993) *The Liar School of Herodotos*. Amsterdam.
Quandt, W. (1913) *De Baccho ab Alexandri aetate in Asia minore culto. Diss. Philol. Hal.* 21: 107–279. Halle.
Quilligan, M. (1979) *The Language of Allegory: Defining the Genre*. Ithaca, New York.
Rabe, H. (1906) *Scholia in Lucianum*. Leipzig.
Radermacher, L. (1903) *Das Jenseits im Mythos der Hellenen*. Bonn.
Radet, G. (1931) *Alexandre le Grand*. Paris.
Rahner, H. (1963) *Greek Myth and Christian Mystery*. New York and Evanston.
Reardon, B.P. (1969) "The Greek Novel", *Phoenix* 23: 291–309.
—— (1989) "Lucian: *A True Story*", English Translation in id. ed. *Collected Ancient Greek Novels*. Berkeley, 619–49.
Reinhardt, K. (1926) *Kosmos und Sympathie*. Munich.
Reitzenstein, R. (1906) *Hellenistische Wundererzählungen*. Leipzig.
Reyhl, K. (1969) *Antonios Diogenes: Untersuchungen zu den Roman-Fragmenten der "Wunderjenseits von Thule" und zu den "Wahren Geschichten" des Lukian*. Tübingen.
Rich, A.N.M. (1956) "The Cynic Conception of αὐτάρκεια", *Mnemosyne* 9: 23–9.

Richardson, N.J. (1975) "Homeric Professors in the Age of the Sophists", *Proc. Cambr. Philol. Soc.* 201, n.s. 21: 65–81.
Richardson, S. (1996) "Truth in the Tales of the *Odyssey*", *Mnem.* 49.4: 393–402.
Richter, W. (1888) *Jambulus.* Beilage zum Osterprogram des Gymnasiums Schaffhausen. Schaffhausen.
Rist, J.M. (1967) *Plotinus: The Road to Reality.* Cambridge.
Rohde, E. (1893) "Zum griechischen Roman", *Rh.Mus.* 48: 110–40.
—— (1914) *Der griechische Roman und seine Vorläufer.* 3rd ed. Ed. W. Schmid. Leipzig. [repr. 1974].
—— (1925) *Psyche. The Cult of Souls and Belief in Immortality among the Ancient Greeks*, transl. by W.B. Hillis. London and New York. [repr. 1987].
Römer, A. (1924) *Die Homerexegese Aristarchs in ihren Grundzügen.* Paderborn.
Romm, J.S. (1989a) "Belief and Other Worlds: Ktesias and the Founding of the 'Indian Wonders'", in Slusser and Rabkin, eds., *Mindscapes: The Geographies of Imagined Worlds.* Carbondale, 122–35.
—— (1989b) "Lucian and Plutarch as Sources for Kepler's *Somnium*", *CML* 9: 97–107.
—— (1992) *The Edges of the Earth in Ancient Thought: Geography, Exploration and Fiction.* Princeton.
Roscher, W.H. (1904) *Die Zieben- und Neunzahl im Kultus und Mythus der Griechen*, Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, 24.1. Leipzig.
—— (1890) *Über Selene und verwandtes.* Leipzig.
—— (1919) *Die hippokratische Schrift von der Siebenzahl und ihr Verhältnis zum Altpythagorismus*, Berichte der Sächsischen Akademie, 7. Leipzig.
Rose, M.A. (1979) *Parody/Metafiction.* London.
—— (1981) "Defining Parody", *Southern Review of Australia* 13.1: 5–20.
—— (1993) *Parody: Ancient, Modern, and Post-modern.* Cambridge and New York.
Rösler, W. (1980) "Die Entdeckung der Fiktionalität in der Antike", *Poetica* 12:283–319.
Rossellini, M., Saïd, S. (1978) "Usage des femmes et autres nomoi chez les 'sauvages' d'Hérodote", *Annali della Scuola Normale Sup. di Pisa* 8: 949–1005.
Rougé, J. (1966) *Recherches sur l'organisation du commerce maritime en Méditerranée sous l'Empire romain.* Paris.
Roux, G. (1960) "Qu'est-ce qu'un κολοσσός?", *REA* 62: 5–40.
Roux, J. (1972) *Euripides, Les Bacchantes*, 2 vols., Bibliothèque de la Faculté des Lettres de Lyon, 21. Paris.
Rowe, C.J. (1993) *Plato, Phaedo.* Cambridge.
—— (1986) *Plato. Phaedrus.* Warminster.
Ruiz-Montero, C. (1996) "The Rise of the Greek Novel, II: The Utopian Tradition", in Schmeling, (1996) 38–42.
Russ, J. (1980) "*Amor Vincit Foeminam*: The Battle of the Sexes in Science Fiction", 7: 1–15.
Russell, D. (1964) *Longinus: On the Sublime.* Oxford.
——, ed. (1992) *Dio Chrysostom, Orations vii, xii and xxxvi.* Cambridge.
Sansone, D. (1988) *Greek Athletics and the Genesis of Sport.* Berkeley.
Sauppe, H. (1867) *Commentatio de Antiphonte Sophista.* Göttingen. [=(1896) *Ausgewählte Schriften*, no. 50, 508–26].
Scarcella, A.M. (1985) "Luciano, Le "Storie Vere" e il Furor Mathematicus", *Giornale Italiano di Filologia* 37: 249–257.
—— (1988) "Mythe et ironie: Les 'Vraies histoires' de Lucien", in F. Jouan and B. Deforge, 169–76.
Schepens, G. (1975) "L'idéal de l'information complète chez les historiens grecs", *REG* 88: 419–23.
—— (1980) *L'"autopsie" dans la méthode des historiens grecs du Vᵉ siècle avant J.-C.* Brussels.
Schmeling, G. (1996) *The Novel in the Ancient World.* Leiden.

Schmid, W. (1887) *Der Atticismus in seinen Hauptvertretern.* vol. 1. Stuttgart [repr. 1964].
Schoff, W.H. (1912) *The Periplus of the Erythraean* Sea. London and New York.
Schwartz, B. (1914) *Lukians Verhältnis zum Skeptizismus.* Diss. Königsberg, Tilsit.
Schwartz, F.F. (1966) "Griechenland und Indien im Spiegel der antiken Literatur", *Jahresber. des Bundesgymnasium Fürstenfeld* 36: 62–86.
—— (1975) "Arrian's *Indike* on India: Intention and Reality", *East and West* 25: 181–200.
—— (1983) "The Itinerary of Iambulus—Utopianism and History", *Indology and Law. Studies in hon. of Prof. J. Duncan M. Derrett,* Beiträge zur Südasien-Forschung 77: 18–55. Wiesbaden.
Schwartz, J. (1951) *Philopseudès et De morte Peregrini,* Textes d'Études, Publ. Fac. Lettres Univ. Strasbourg, No. 12. Paris.
Sciolla, L. (1988) *Gli artifici della finzione poetica nella "Storia Vera" di Luciano.* Foggia.
Scobie, A. (1975) "The Battle of the Cranes in Chinese, Arab and North American Indian Sources", *Folklore* [Folklore Soc., London] 86: 122–32.
Segal, C. (1962) "The Phaeacians and the symbolism of Odysseus' return", *Arion* 1.4: 17–64.
—— (1967) "Transition and Ritual in Odysseus' Return", *PP* 22: 321–42.
Sergent, B. (1986) *Homosexuality in Greek Myth,* transl. by A. Goldhammer. Boston.
Shrimpton, G.S. (1991) *Theopompus the Historian.* Kingston and London.
Sigsbee, D.L. (1968) *The Ridicule of the Stoic Paradoxes in ancient satirical Literature.* Ph.D Diss. Univ. of Michigan.
Slater, W.J. (1976) "Symposium at Sea", *HSCP* 80: 161–7.
Slusser, G.E., Rabkin, E.R., eds. (1989) *Mindscapes: The Geography of Imagined Worlds.* Carbondale.
—— (1993) *Fights of Fancy: Armed Conflict in Science Fiction and Fantasy.* Athens, Georgia.
Smyth, H.W. (1956) *Greek Grammar.* Cambridge, Mass.
Sommerstein, A.H. (1982) *Aristophanes: Clouds.* Warminster.
—— (1987) *Aristophanes: Birds.* Warminster.
Soury, G. (1942) *La Démonologie de Plutarque: Essai sur les Idées Religieuses et les Mythes d'un Platonicien Éclectique.* Paris.
Stanford, W.B. (1968) *The Ulysses Theme: A Study in the Adaptability of a Traditional Hero.* Oxford.
Starr, C.G. (1968) "Ideas of Truth in Early Greece", *La Parola del Passato.* 23: 348–59.
Stengel, A. (1911) *De Luciani veris historiis.* Diss. Rostock, Berlin.
Stephens, S., Winkler, J.J. (1995) *Ancient Greek Novels: The Fragments.* Princeton, NJ.
Stewart, J.A., Levy, G.R. (1960) *The Myths of Plato.* London.
Stoneman, R. (1991) *The Greek Alexander Romance.* Penguin Classics. Harmondsworth.
—— (1994) "The Alexander Romance: From History to Fiction", in Morgan and Stoneman, eds., 117–29.
Suvin, D. (1972) "Defining the Literary Genre of Utopia: Some Historical Semantics, Some Genealogy, A Proposal, and A Plea", *Studies in the Literary Imagination.* Fall 1972: 121–45.
—— (1976) "The Alternate Islands: A Chapter in the History of SF: With a Bibliography on the SF of Antiquity, the Middle Ages, and the Renaissance", *Science Fiction Studies* 10: 239–48.
Suzuki, M. (1989) *Metamorphoses of Helen: Authority, Difference and the Epic.* Ithaca, New York.
Swain, S. (1992) "Antonius Diogenes and Lucian", *Liverpool Classical Monthly* 17.5: 74–6.
—— (1994) "Dio and Lucian", in Morgan and Stoneman, eds., 166–80.
Swanson, R.A. (1976) "The True, the False, and the Truly False: Lucian's Philosophical Science Fiction", *Science Fiction Studies* 3: 228–39.

Tackaberry, W.H. (1930) *Lucian's Relation to Plato and the Post-Aristotelian Philosophers. Univ. of Toronto Studies*, no. 9. Toronto.
Tate, J. (1929–30) "Plato and Allegorical Interpretation", *CQ* 23: 142–54; 24: 1–10.
Test, G.A. (1991) *Satire: Spirit and Art.* Tampa, Florida.
Theall, D.F. (1980) "On Science Fiction as Symbolic Communication", *Science Fiction Studies* 7: 247–62.
Thimme, A. (1888) "Zwei Festvorlesungen des Lukianos", *Jahrbücher für klassische Philologie* 37: 562–66.
Thompson, S. (1966) *Motif-Index of Folk Literature.* 6 vols. London.
Timmermann, J.H. (1983) *Other Worlds: The Fantasy Genre.* Bowling Green, OH.
Todd, R.B. (1989) "The Stoics and their Cosmology in the first and second centuries A.D.", *ANRW* 2.36.3: 1365–78.
Todorov, T. (1973) *The Fantastic.* Ithaca.
Tondriau, J. (1948) "L'Avis de Lucien dans la divinisation des humains", *Museum Helveticum* 5: 124–132.
Trahman, C.R. (1952) "Odysseus' Lies (*Odyssey* Books 13–19)", *Phoenix* 6: 31–43.
Tümpel, K. (1894) "'Ἀλκίνου ἀπόλογος", *Philologus* 52: 523–33.
Turcan, R. (1963) "Le Roman Initiatique: à propos d'un Livre Récent", *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* 163: 149–99.
Urmson, J.O. (1990) *The Greek Philosophical Vocabulary.* London.
Usener, H. (1902) "Milch und Honig", *Rh.Mus.* 57: 177–95.
Verdenius, W.J. (1977) "Hylozoism in Early Greek Thought", *Janus* 64: 25–40.
Vernière, Y. (1986) "La Lune, réservoir des âmes", in Jouan (1986) 101–8.
—— (1988) "Îles mythiques chez Diodore de Sicile", in Jouan and Deforge (1988) 159–68.
Vian, F. (1988) "Le périple océanique des Argonautes dans les Argonautiques orphiques", in Jouan and Deforge, 177–86.
Walcot, P. (1977) "Odysseus and the Art of Lying", *Ancient Society* 8: 1–19.
Walsh, P.G. (1988) "The Rights and Wrongs of Curiosity (Plutarch to Augustine)", *G&R* 35.1: 73–85.
Waszink, J.-H. (1966) "Porphyrios und Numenios", in *Porphyre.* Entretiens Hardt XII, Vandoeuvres-Geneva, 12: 35–83.
Wehrli, F. (1928) *Zur Geschichte der allegorischen Deutung Homers in Altertum.* Basel.
Weiker, G. (1902) *Der Seelenvogel in der alten Literatur und Kunst.* Leipzig.
Weil, R. (1987) "Naissance et mort de la vérité historique dans la Grèce antique", in Gadoffre, 19–30.
Weinberg, F.M. (1986) *The Cave: The Evolution of a Metaphoric Field from Homer to Ariosto*, Studies in the Humanities: Literature, Politics, Society. Frankfurt am Main.
Weinrich, O. (1942) *Antiphanes und Münchhausen: Das antike Lügenmärlein von den gefrornen Worten und sein Fortleben im Abendland*, Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, 220.4. Vienna and Leipzig.
West, M.L. (1983) *The Orphic Poems.* Oxford.
West, S. (1991) "Sea-Monsters at Sunrise", *CQ* 41: 275.
West, W.C. (1969) "The Trophies of the Persian Wars", *CP* 64: 7–19.
Weyman, K. (1886) *Studien über die Figur der Litotes.* Leipzig.
White, D.G. (1991) *Myths of the Dog-Man.* Chicago.
Whitman, J. (1987) *Allegory: The Dynamics of an Ancient and Medieval Technique.* Oxford.
Wilamowitz, U. von (1883) "Phaethon", *Hermes* 18: 398–434.
Williams, F. (1970) *Callimachus: Hymn to Apollo.* Oxford.
Williamson, J. (1973) *H.G. Wells: Critic of Progress.* Baltimore.
Winkler, J.J. (1980) "Lucian's Tritônomendêtes (True History 1.35)", *CW* 73.5: 304–5.
—— (1985) *Auctor et Actor: A Narratological Reading of Apuleius's Golden Ass.* Berkeley.

Winston, D. (1956) *Iambulus: A Literary Study in Greek Utopianism*, Ph.D. Diss.Univ. of Columbia.
—— (1976) "Iambulus' Islands of the Sun and Hellenistic Literary Utopias", *Science Fiction Studies* 3: 219–27.
Wirth, G. (1967) *Arrianus*. Leipzig.
Wittkower, R. (1942) "Marvels of the East", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute* 5: 159–97.

I

GENERAL INDEX

Achilles, 199-200
Achilles Tatius, 108
Aelian, *Varia Historia*, 34
Aeolian islands, 108, 173, 175-76, 179, 180-81
Aesop, 97
afterlife, 18, 83, 85
Ajax, Locrian, 195
alektryomanteia, 217
allegory, 5-22; of the Cave, 158-60
allusion, 22-23
amber, stele of, 120-21
ambrosia, 132
Anacharsis, 195
Anaxagoras, 127
androgynous, role of the Moonmen, 125
Andromeda, 156-57
Antigonus, 54
Antimachus of Colophon, 226
Antiphon, 220
Antonius Diogenes, *The Wonders beyond Thule*, 38-40, 81, 156
Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica*, 21
Apuleius, *Metamorphoseis*, 229
Arachne, 107
Aristippus, 197
Aristonicus, 37-38, 98
Aristophanes, allusions to, 24-27; parabasis of, 51; *Nubes*, 25-27, 82, 103; *Pax*, 81, 97
Aristotle, 222; Ps.-Arist. *Mirabilibus Auscultationibus*, 54, 72, 74, 86, 178
Arrian, 71
Artemidorus, *Oneirocritica*, 227
Ass-legs, 14, 21-22, 62, 76, 78-80, 229-31
ass-trumpet, 113
athlete, historian as, 29
athletic metaphors, 52
audience/readers, Lucian's, 52, 56-57, 65
authorial/narratorial voice, 3
autopsy (eyes and motifs of vision), 2, 58, 68, 90, 123, 136, 141-43

bald and baldness, 37, 134-36, 156-57, 225
Batrachomyomachia, 133; parody of, 27
battle of the shades, 208-09
beans, 105, 208, 212
beard, 135
Bergerac, Cyrano de, 45
beryl stele, 212
bisexual beings, 125
blood, river of, 73

cabbage, 136-37
Callisthenes, 28; Ps.-Callisthenes, *Alexander Romance*, 38, 77, 215
cave, allegory of, 158-60; of Calypso, 148, 160, 222; Platonic Cave, 158-60, 164, 171-73; Homeric caves, 158-60
Celsus, 3-4
chasm, 226
Cheese Island, 76, 139, 179-80, 210
Christianity, falsehoods of, 4
Chrysippus, 198-99
Circe, 79
class distinction, 37, 141
closure, 222, 232
Cloudcuckooland, 26-27, 146-47, 154-55; Cloudcuckootown, 152-53
Colossus of Rhodes, 114-15
community of wives, 200
Cornutus, Stoic, 9
copulation, 200
cork, 181-82; Cork Island, 182; Cork-feet, 181-82
crab, 224
Crates of Mallos, 7, 63
Cronius, 10, 12
Cronus, island of, 17
Ctesias, 1, 21, 28, 54-55, 76, 132, 215-16
Cyclades, 107

Daedalus, 81
deception (falsehood, illusion, lies), 1-4, 9, 42, 60, 69, 87, 120-21, 137, 209, 219-20
Defoe, Daniel, 45
Delium, battle of, 207
Demiurge, 8
Democritus, 127

dew, 132-33; significance of, 120
Dio of Prusa, 3-4
Diogenes the Cynic, 197-98
Dionysus, 71-72; inscription of, 9, 37, 68, 85, 232; prolalia *Dionysus*, 22, 35, 52, 68, 72, 75, 112-13, 176
dissolution, into smoke, 18; of soul, 131-32
Dog Star, 110; Dog-acorns, 110; Dog-faced men, 110-11
dolphins, 223
Dystopian literature, 47

ears and hearsay, 41, 51, 58, 121, 125, 127, 142-43
eclipse, of the moon, 118-19
egg, in Orphic cosmogony, 129; men hatching from eggs, 129
Empedocles, 40-41, 44, 127, 204
Empusa, 230-31
Endymion, 10, 15, 26-27, 32, 83, 94, 97-99
entrapment, motif of, 20, 76, 156
Epicurus, 64, 131
Epimenides, 221
Eratosthenes, 6
eschatology, Pythagorean, 83
Euhemerus, 33, 36-37, 70
Euripides, *Bellerophon*, 81; *Iphigenia in Tauris*, 15
excretion, 134

fire, river of, 73
fish, philosophers as, 166-67, 169
Flea-archers, 103
flight for knowledge, 81
floating islands, 173

Games of the Dead, 209
Ganymede, 123
Garlic-fighters, 103
gate, earthenware, 218; of horn, 218-19; iron gate, 218; ivory gate, 217-19
genesis, of the soul, 60; stages of, 7
glass, 141, 175; glass trees, 193
grammarians, Alexandrian, 200-03

hail, 139-40
Helen, abduction of, 209-11; kidnapping of, 187-89; palinode of Stesichorus, 194
hellebore, 199
helmsman, 8, 14, 65-66, 171
Heracles, 71-72; allegorical interpretation of, 9; inscription of, 9, 37, 68, 85, 232; labours of, 9-10, 156; and Odysseus, 9; Pillars of, 9, 63; prolalia *Heracles*, 5, 52, 117, 176; rescue of Hesione by, 9
Heraclitus, *Homeric Allegories*, 6-7, 76, 94, 108, 197
Herodotus, 21, 76, 190, 215-16; parody of, 28, 122
Hesiod, *Certamen Homeri et Hesiodi*, 205-06
Hesione, rescue of, 156
Hill of Virtue, Stoic, 198
history, and myth, 34; as an athlete, 5; maritime and equestrian motifs of, 30-31
historian, sea voyage of, 30-31
historiography, parody of, 28-40
Homer 2-3, 5-10, 193, 200-03, allegorization of, 6-10, 12; allusion to, 114; Homeric borrowings, 56; quotation from, 17; *Iliad*, 202-03, *Odyssey*, 7, 60, 202, 216
homosexual relationships, 124-25; 130-31
honey, 137-38; springs of, 73
Horse-ants, 101; Horse-cranes, 104-05; Horse-vultures, 90, 95-96
human flight, methods of, 97
Hyacinthus, 196
Hyades, 151
hybrids, 9, 42, 44, 56, 68, 76-77, 90-91, 166-68; phallus-, 228

Iambulus, 33, 37, 55, 79, 98, 183-84, 189
imaginary Voyages, genre of, 44-48
initiation, Dionysian, 16; motifs, 44; initiatory themes, 68
intercrural copulation, 134
introductions, in historiography, 51
Island-boats, 173; Island-sailors, 173; Island of cheese, 76, 139, 179-80, 210; Islands of the Sun, 183-84; Island of Vine-women, 9, 19, 35-37, 71, 74, 85, 162, 166, 179, 185; Isle of the Blessed, 13-15, 18, 21, 29, 33, 35-36, 44, 56, 83, 85, 182-84, 192, 195-99; Isle of Dreams, 154, 216-21; Isles of the Wicked, 13, 21, 44, 55, 96, 184

John, *Apocalypse*, 22, 189-90
Jonah and the whale, 157

journey, initiatory, 13; for knowledge, 5-22, 157-58; of the mind, 42
Joyce, James, 6

Kavafy, *Ithaca*, 6
kingfisher, 224
knowledge, search for, 20

lamp, 93, 110-11, 150-54
LeGuin's, Ursula K., 47
Longinus, *De Sublimitate*, 8
Lotus-eaters, 79-80
love-epistles, 213
Lucian, *Adversus Indoctum*, 203; *Alexander*, 59; *Bis Accusatus*, 69, 91-92; *Charon (Contemplantes)*, 18; *De Astrologia*, 15n.49, 99; *De Luctu*, 19, 75; *De Mercede Conductis*, 20; *De Morte Peregrini*, 10, 59; *De Parasito*, 92; *Deorum Concilium*, 42; *De Syria Dea*, 114; *Dialogi Marini*, 77; *Dialogi Mortuorum*, 19; *De Domo*, 56; *Dionysus* , 51-52, 75, 112-13, 176; *Eunuchus*, 92; *Fugitivi*, 43, 91; *Gallus*, 94; *Heracles*, 5, 51-52, 176; *Hermotimus*, 1, 5, 43, 56-57, 69, 82, 179, 197-98, 217; *Herodotus*, 76; *Icaromenippus*, 15-16, 69, 82, 92, 97-99, 109, 112, 163; *Juppiter Tragoedus*, 2, 8n.25, 42, 92; *Lexiphanes*, 60; *Menippus (Nekyomantia)*, 19, 183; *Navigium*, 100; *Nigrinus*, 108, 179; *Philopseudes*, 2-3, 58, 226; *Piscator*, 43, 108; *Prometheus es in verbis*, 91, 103; *Pseudologista*, 94; *Somnium*, 15n.49; *Symposium*, 43, 69-75, 92-93; *Toxaris*, 2; *Quomodo historia conscribenda sit*, 2, 9, 16, 29-32, 56, 58, 60, 82, 116; *Vitarum Auctio*, 187; Ps. Luc. *Lucius or the Ass*, 229
lupines, 105
Lychnopolis, 111, 146, 149, 153, 216

maenads, 76
mallow, 109-10, 212, 230
Megasthenes, 28, 71
metamorphosis, motif of, 77
metempsychosis, Pythagorean, 203-04
milk, 132; river of, 73; sea of, 179-80
Milky Way, 18; abode of souls, 111
Millet-throwers, 102
Minotaur, 227-28
Mirabilia, 33-34
mirror, 16, 144
Momus, 179
moon, as boundary of Hades, 17; eclipse of, 26; place of the sojourn of souls, 83-85
Morning-Star, 100
myrrh, river of, 73
myth of Daedalus, 15
myth of Er, 11, 13, 18, 21, 40, 56, 76, 85, 186-87, 193, 203, 213, 226-27; Libyan myth, 4; of Sulla, 16-17

narcissus, 185
narrator, 3, 9; reliability of, 31-32, 53, 59; separate from author, 58-59
Nauplius, 8n.25, 21n.60, 148, 213
Necessity, 84
Nekyia, 8n.23, 150, 152,
Nephelocentaurs, 9, 26, 32, 96-97, 111, 115, 149, 175
New Jerusalem, 22, 189-90
Night, 219
Nocturnal Council, 153-54
Numa, 195
numbers, 32, 67, 88, 170, 172, 191-92, 221, 224, 228
Numenius, 7-8, 10-11, 18-19, 22n.65, 60, 65, 94, 158, 161, 177, 230-32
Nut-sailors, 173, 223

oak, 128-29
obsessional neurosis, 7n.19
Ocean, 6, 7-8, 64, 214, 231
Odysseus, 3, 4n.11, 6-7, 9-10, 13, 22n.62, 23-24, 32-33, 35, 55, 63, 65, 68, 75, 80, 122, 147-49, 152, 160, 162-65, 168, 173, 177-79, 182, 187-89, 191, 196-97, 203-04, 211-13, 216, 218, 221-23, 226, 228-31; and Homer, 24, 51, 56, 183, 193, 203
Ogygia, 17, 189, 221-23
Old Testament, 22
Omphale, 9n.28, 77
Onesicritus, 33, 55
onion, 139
Onoskeles, 230
Orion, 151
Orpheus, 194
Orphic Argonautica, 21
Orphic beliefs, 39n.108, 40, 44, 84-85, 125, 129, 134, 144, 185, 193
Ostrich-acorns, 104
Other Continent, 8, 14-15, 96, 211, 229, 231-32
Ox-heads, 139, 178, 225-28

Palinurus, 171
Pan, 136
Panchaia, 36-37, 70
pankration, 205
paradoxography, 33-34, 39
Paris, 208-10
Parmenides, 15, 81, 99, 219
parody, 5, 11-12, 14, 22-44, 61-63, 146, 148, 152, 232
Patroclus, 204
peacock, 206
Pegasus, 97
Penelope, 107, 160, 213, 216, 220, 222-23, 232
penis, 78, 104, 110, 128, 130, 212, 223, 228
Pera, 87
Peregrinus, 95-96, 131
Periander, 196
periplus, 32; Hanno's *Periplus*, 32n.85; *Periplus of the Red Sea*, 32, 185
Peripatetics, 3, 102, 108, 209
Phaeacian tales, 8, 23n.69, 24, 28, 56, 168, 197, 213, 222
Phaethon, 10, 15, 17, 26-27, 32, 83, 85, 92, 98-99, 101, 111-12, 118, 120-21, 166
Phalaris, 206, 209
Phallonauts, 60, 88, 181, 228-29
Phantasion, 219
Philo, 6n.15, 11n.38
philosophers, and beards, 135; and sex, 78-79, 131; and wine, 43, 87; arguments among, 10-11, 16, 19, 43, 45, 91-94, 99, 101-03, 107, 111-12, 116, 123, 139, 146-47, 166, 174, 209; in disguise, 13, 26-27, 41, 43, 91-94, 112, 156, 166-67, 214-15, 217, 220, 229; in Underworld, 195-9; lies of, 57
philosophy, 9; and allegory, 9-13; parody of, 40-44, 122, 155
Phocion, 195
phoenix, 190
Phorkides, 141
Phrixus, 97
Phrontis, 171
Pillars of Heracles, 9, 32-33, 63
Pityokamptes, 206-07, 209
Plain, of Lethe, 13, 217-18; of Stupidity, 217-18
plane tree, 41, 129, 143
Plato, 7, 18, 33, 65, 70, 78, 96, 143, 183, 196-97, 206; *Alcibiades*, 8; *Apology*, 1, 57-59, 186, 196; *Laws*, 153-54, 164; *Phaedo*, 13-14, 81, 131, 164, 172, 189, 191, 199, 214; *Phaedrus*, 15, 41, 81, 111, 176, 203, 217; *Politicus*, 8, 91; *Republic*, 7, 11, 13, 19, 20n.58, 21, 28, 40, 56, 81, 85, 107, 118, 123, 148, 150, 153, 158-59, 161, 164, 171-73, 177, 186-87, 189, 193-94, 200, 203, 206, 213, 217, 221, 226-28; *Symposium*, 79, 124-25; *Timaeus*, 10, 127-28, 167, 231
Platonists, 3, 40, 43, 169, 200
Pleiades, 149, 151, 224
Plotinus, 11n.37, 72, 80, 144
Ploutokles, 219
Plutarch, *De Audiendis poetis*, 12, 60; *De Facie quae in orbe lunae apparet*, 14, 16-18, 79, 85-86, 89, 98-99, 108, 119-20, 124, 128, 132, 137, 140, 178, 185, 191, 221, 232; *De Genio Socratis*, 19, 89, 124, 153, 158, 179, 181, 220-21, 232; *De Iside et Osiride*, 36, 133; *De Sera numinis vindicta*, 153, 220; *Septem sapientium convivium*, 139
pneuma, 91
Poe, Edgar Allan, 6, 232
poetry, 2; and allegory, 9-10; and history, 30-31, 68, 71, 82; and philosophy, 68, 82; parody of, 23-28
Polybius, 29n.81, 33n.86, 58
Polydorus, 74
Polyphemus, 7n.23, 24, 80, 97, 160, 161, 168, 173, 177-80
poppy, 218
Porphyry, 79, 157, 216, 222, 230, *De Antro Nympharum*, 7, 11-12, 20, 80, 111, 126, 138-39, 151, 158, 160-61, 163, 177, 229, 232
Poseidon, 37, 169, 178-80, 213, 229, 232
posterity, 28-29, 31, 57
Proclus, 18, 194, 209, 222
prolaliae, 51; *Dionysus*, 22, 35, 51-52, 68, 75, 112-13, 176, 225; *Heracles*, 5, 51-52, 117, 176
Prosymnus, 130
Proteus, 77, 95, 231
Ps.-Plutarch, *De Vita et poesi Homeri*, 54, 201-02, 212
pubic hair, 128
Pumpkin-pirates, 173, 223
punishment, 80, 110, 146-47, 150, 152-53, 210-11, 213-15, 228
purification, 18-19, 86, 146-47, 149, 163, 215, 226

Pyrrhonians, 199
Pyrrhus, 188,
Pythagoras and Pythagoreans, 3, 6n.15, 10, 39, 40, 43-44, 70, 73, 82-85, 89, 91, 94, 96, 102, 105, 111-12, 118, 122, 126, 128, 132, 134, 138-39, 141, 144, 146-48, 150, 157-58, 183-85, 189, 195, 203-04, 208, 210, 212, 218, 220, 231
Pytheas of Massilia, 32-33, 63, 86

radish, 102-03, 109
reincarnation, 13, 84, 98, 190, 203-04, 229
riding, motif of, 26
relaxation, for athletes and readers, 29, 51-52
Rhadamanthus, 64, 79, 96, 99, 105, 110, 152, 154, 168, 181-82, 186-88, 198, 211-12, 227, 230
rivers, 73; in Hades, 214; river of Forgetfulness, 13
Romance, 36-40
rose, 117, 185-86, 210

Sagittarius, 111, 115-16
Sarpedon, 24, 27, 95, 114
satire, 10, 20, 39-41, 44-45, 76, 83, 148, 161, 232
Sceptics, 44n.121, 100, 145, 199
science fiction, 38n.102, 45-48
Scintharus, 14, 32, 60, 156, 158, 160, 162-66, 168, 170-71, 174, 184, 225
Scipio, 188
Scylax, 32n.85
Scylla, 157, 165, 169
sea, of air, 89; of glass, 22n.64; of history, 30; of ice, 178; of matter, 67, 86, 139, 146, 161-63, 181, 221, 229, 232; of milk, 179; of philosophy, 60, 67; of poetry, 66; of trees, 225-26
self-sufficiency, 164-65, 198
setting sail, 60
seven, 13, 22n.64, 88, 181, 184, 189, 211
Seven Wise Men, 183, 195-96
sexual intercourse, 77-80, 131, 134-35, 200, 230
ship, of history, 66
shipwreck, 14-15, 20, 229, 232
shooting stars, 153-54, 221
Sicily, 165, 179, 224
Silenus, 34-35, 51, 68, 75, 109, 112-13
Sinbad, 157, 225
Sirens, 12n.41, 76, 80-81, 229-31
Sirius, 110
Sky-dancers, 109
Sky-gnats, 108
smoke, 18, 131-33, 162
Socrates, 1, 8, 13-14, 25, 40, 57, 59, 81-83, 91, 103, 108, 111, 125-26, 131, 136, 143, 164, 169, 188-89, 191-92, 194-96, 199-201, 207, 209, 220, 224
Sole-feet, 169
sophists, 25, 91
soul, 13-14, 17-18, 21, 71-72, 83-86, 95, 98, 131-32, 138-39, 143-44, 146-47, 150, 158, 160-61, 172, 177-79, 181, 186-87, 192-93, 209, 215, 220-21, 226-27, 229-32
sparrow, 104
spider's web, 100, 107, 117, 191, 210
Spindle of Necessity, 107
springs, 36, 165-66, 190, 192-94
Stalk-mushrooms, 105, 110
stele, of amber, 120-21; of beryl, 29; of Dionysus and Heracles, 70-71; of gold, 36
Stesichorus, 193-94, 203, 210
Stoics, 3, 9, 10, 37, 40-41, 43-44, 78, 82, 84-85, 88, 92, 98-99, 103, 105, 112, 116-17, 120, 131-32, 134-37, 140, 183, 198-99
storm, 15, 20, 67, 140
Strongyle, 181-82
sun, 37, 98-101, 141, 148-50, 189-90; and amber, 121; and souls, 17-18, 86; at war with moon, 16, 26, 90-95, 99-100; treaty with moon, 18, 93, 119-21, 170; union with moon, 18, 120
swan, 121, 194
sweat, 138
Swift, Jonathan, 5n.14, 13n.42, 45
swordfish, 169

Taraxion, 219
Tartarus, 214, 226
Telegonus, 160, 171
Telemachus, 160, 163, 168
Tellus, 195-96
telos, 14-15
testicles, 128, 223
Teucer, 150
Thanatousia, 204
Theopompus, 28, 34-36, 57, 96, 191, 193-94, 206
Thersites, 203
Theseus, 24, 187-88, 199, 207, 228

three-headed, 96-97
Thrinacia, 178
Thucydides, 29, 99, 101, 103-04, 113, 116-17, 119, 148-49, 162, 170, 172, 175-76, 210
Tigranes, 201
Timon, 96, 186, 215
Tiresias, 19, 178, 211
translucence, 74, 141, 162, 185, 226
travel-narratives, 32-33, 36-37, 55, 183
travel-romance, 38
Tree-men, 76, 127-31, 224-25
Tritonomendites, 159, 169
Trojan War, 95, 116, 183, 209, 211
Trophonius, cave of, 19
trophy, 114, 116-17, 171
truth, 1-3, 145, 219
tunny, 169
Tunny-heads, 169
twilight, 191
Typhon, 9n.29, 26, 87
tyrants, 196, 206-07, 213
Tyro, 180, 185, 210
Tyroessa, 179, 210

Underworld, 9, 14, 18, 71, 85-86, 96, 145, 157-58, 164, 173, 178, 182-223, 226
utopia, 17, 33, 36, 41, 47, 73, 83, 87, 122, 200

Varro, 81
Vegetable-wings, 102, 108
Verne, Jules, 46
vines, 139, 179, 192
Vine-women, 4n.11, 19, 21-22, 35-37, 68-69, 76-81, 127, 162, 170, 179, 185, 212, 215, 227, 229
vultures, 90, 94-96, 106, 224

wall of clouds, 118, 121, 152
wallet, 140, 208
war, 24, 26-27, 29, 90-95, 106-08, 166-68, 172-75
weaving, 107
well, 145
Wells, H. G., 46-47
whale, 9, 14, 19-21, 37, 76, 147, 157-61, 166-68, 215, 228; as Cave, 146, 158-59, 171-73, 176-77; as tomb of the soul, 161
White Island, 180, 210
winds, 85-88, 140; and lies, 103-04; and souls, 66-67, 84, 125-26
wind-egg, 126
Wind-runners, 103-04, 110
wine, 16, 35, 109, 164-65, 192; and cabbages, 136; and philosophy, 69; river of, 68-69, 73-75
wrestling, 174, 204-05

xenia, 164

Zamolxis, 195
Zeno, 44, 103, 164, 193-94, 200
Zenodotus, 183, 201-02, 218
zephyr, 191-92
Zola, E. 47

II

INDEX OF GREEK WORDS

ἀεροβατέω, 25
ἀεροδρομέω, 88
Ἀεροκόρδαξ, 109
Ἀεροκώνωψ, 108
αἴνιγμα, 5, 42
αἰνίττομαι, 5, 11-12, 23, 53-54
ἄκατος, 66
ἄκομος, 134-35
ἀκωμῳδήτως, 53-54
ἀλληγορία, 12
ἁμαξοπληθής, 175
ἄμουσος, 53
ἀμπελάνθη, 185
ἀμπελομιξία, 80
Ἀνεμοδρόμος, 103
ἄνεσις, 52
ἀντίχθων, 82
ἀποδενδρούμενος, 77
ἀποικία, 99
ἀποτειχίζω, 26
ἀράχνη, 107
αὐτοψία, 58, 68

βάλανος, 128
Βουκέφαλος, 227
βράγχιον, 166
βωμολοχία, 55

Γαλαξίας, 111
γαστροκνημία, 125, 134

δαίμων σεληναῖος, 84
Δενδρίτης, 127
δεσμωτήριον, 172
δρόσος, 120, 134

ἐγχελυωπός, 168
ἐκκολάπτω, 129
ἐλλεβορίζω, 198
ἐλλέβορος, 187
ἐπιδημία, 74
εὐδαιμονία, 20, 22n.64, 41, 94, 100, 164, 185
εὐδαίμων, 22
εὔπλοια, 182

Θανατούσια, 204

Θερείτης, 121
Θυννοκέφαλος, 169
θριδακίνη, 102

ἰδιώτης, 56
Ἱππογέρανος, 104
Ἱππόγυποι, 95

κάματος, 53
καραβοπρόσωπος, 168
Καρυοναῦται, 223
κατασκοπή, 68
κάτοπτρον, 144
Καυλομύκης, 110
Κεγχροβόλος, 102
κενοδοξία, 57
κινάμωμον, 190
Κοβαλοῦσα, 230
κολαστήριον, 214
κολοκύνθη, 223
κολπόω, 88
κράμβη, 136
Κυνοβάλανος, 110
Κυνοπρόσωπος, 110

λάχανον, 162
λυχνεών, 152
λυχνίσκος, 214-15

μαλάχη, 109
μάχη, 16, 92
μετεωρίζω, 87
μηκυθμός, 228
μηχανή, 176
μονοδάκτυλος, 135
μονόξυλος, 190

Νεκρακαδημία, 208
Νεφελοκένταυρος, 111
νεφελωτός, 118
νησομαχία, 175
νόστος, 79
νοῦς, 17-18, 71, 85-86, 108, 142-43, 149-50
Νυκτερίων, 108
Νυκτίπορος, 218

ὀβελίζω, 201
ὁδοιπορέω, 181-2
οἰκειότης, 82-83
οἰνίζομαι, 81
οἰνοφαγία, 75
ὄλισβος, 130, 136
ὀλοφώια, 219
ὄναρ, ὄνειρος, 111, 191, 220
Ὀνοσκελής, 230
ὄρχις, 128

Παγουρίδαι, 169
παραβιάζομαι, 12
παράδοξος, 5, 53, 123, 159
παρακινέω, 30
παρασκευή, 101
πεζός, 82, 91
περιεργία, 63
περίπολος, 186
πνεῦμα, 9 n.30, 91, 126, 131-32
ποιητικός, 30, 82, 88
πολιορκέω, 26, 117
Πολυλάμπης, 121
πολυπραγμοσύνη, 64, 188
πολύφωνος, 30
πτερόεις, 97
πυγή, 134
Πυρωνίδης, 121

ῥαφανίς, 109

σάλπιγξ, 113
Σείριος, 110
σεληναῖος, 122, 163
Σκίνθαρος, 170
σκότος, 158, 161
σπουδαῖος, 23, 53
στέλεχος, 75
Στρουθοβάλανος, 104
συγγραφεύς, 1n.2, 54
συγγράφω, 32, 57
σύμβολον, 6n.15
συμπάθεια, 83, 87
συμπλέκω, 93, 174
συνθέτος, 91
συνουσία, 200
σῶμα, 29, 131, 191

τάξις, 116
ταπεινός, 151
ταραχή, 173
τέλος, 14-15, 31n.84, 64, 113
τερατεύομαι, 56
τερατολογέω, 38
τερατουργία, 54
τοξότης, 115
τραγέλαφος, 90
τρίγλη, 171
Τριτωνομένδητες, 169
τροπή, 113
τυρεύω, τυρόω, 138, 180
Τυρόεσσα, 179
τῦφος, 9n.29, 87, 205
τυφών, 26n.76, 87

ὑαλοειδής, 141
ὑπόθεσις, 63
ὑπόνοια, 6n.15, 12

φαλακρός, 134-35
φαλλός, 130, 161, 228
Φελλώ, 182
φιλοπραγμοσύνη, 64, 188
φρέαρ, 145
φῶς, 158, 191

χάσμα, 226
χρεμετίζω, 223

ψευδολόγος, 55
ψευδέστατος, 31n.84
Ψηττόποδες, 169
Ψυλλοτοξότης, 103
ψυχή, 18, 39n.108, 60, 85, 126, 131-33, 191

SUPPLEMENTS TO MNEMOSYNE

EDITED BY J. M. BREMER, L. F. JANSSEN, H. PINKSTER
H. W. PLEKET, C. J. RUIJGH AND P. H. SCHRIJVERS

4. LEEMAN, A.D. *A Systematical Bibliography of Sallust (1879-1964).* Revised and augmented edition. 1965. ISBN 90 04 01467 5
5. LENZ, F.W. (ed.). *The Aristeides 'Prolegomena'.* 1959. ISBN 90 04 01468 3
7. McKAY, K.J. *Erysichthon. A Callimachean Comedy.* 1962. ISBN 90 04 01470 5
11. RUTILIUS LUPUS. *De Figuris Sententiarum et Elocutionis.* Edited with Prolegomena and Commentary by E. BROOKS. 1970. ISBN 90 04 01474 8
12. SMYTH, W.R. (ed.). *Thesaurus criticus ad Sexti Propertii textum.* 1970. ISBN 90 04 01475 6
13. LEVIN, D.N. *Apollonius' 'Argonautica' re-examined.* 1. The Neglected First and Second Books. 1971. ISBN 90 04 02575 8
14. REINMUTH, O.W. *The Ephebic Inscriptions of the Fourth Century B.C.* 1971. ISBN 90 04 01476 4
16. ROSE, K.F.C. *The Date and Author of the 'Satyricon'.* With an Introduction by J.P. SULLIVAN. 1971. ISBN 90 04 02578 2
18. WILLIS, J. *De Martiano Capella emendando.* 1971. ISBN 90 04 02580 4
19. HERINGTON, C.J. (ed.). *The Older Scholia on the Prometheus Bound.* 1972. ISBN 90 04 03455 2
20. THIEL, H. VAN. *Petron. Überlieferung und Rekonstruktion.* 1971. ISBN 90 04 02581 2
21. LOSADA, L.A. *The Fifth Column in the Peloponnesian War.* 1972. ISBN 90 04 03421 8
23. BROWN, V. *The Textual Transmission of Caesar's 'Civil War'.* 1972. ISBN 90 04 03457 9
24. LOOMIS, J.W. *Studies in Catullan Verse.* An Analysis of Word Types and Patterns in the Polymetra. 1972. ISBN 90 04 03429 3
27. GEORGE, E.V. *Aeneid VIII and the Aitia of Callimachus.* 1974. ISBN 90 04 03859 0
29. BERS, V. *Enallage and Greek Style.* 1974. ISBN 90 04 03786 1
37. SMITH, O.L. *Studies in the Scholia on Aeschylus. 1. The Recensions of Demetrius Triclinius.* 1975. ISBN 90 04 04220 2
39. SCHMELING, G.L. & J.H. STUCKEY. *A Bibliography of Petronius.* 1977. ISBN 90 04 04753 0
44. THOMPSON, W.E. *De Hagniae Hereditate. An Athenian Inheritance Case.* 1976. ISBN 90 04 04757 3
45. McGUSHIN, P. *Sallustius Crispus, 'Bellum Catilinae'. A Commentary.* 1977. ISBN 90 04 04835 9
46. THORNTON, A. *The Living Universe. Gods and Men in Virgil's Aeneid.* 1976. ISBN 90 04 04579 1
48. BRENK, F.E. *In Mist apparelled. Religious Themes in Plutarch's 'Moralia' and 'Lives'.* 1977. ISBN 90 04 05241 0
51. SUSSMAN, L.A. *The Elder Seneca.* 1978. ISBN 90 04 05759 5
57. BOER, W. DEN. *Private Morality in Greece and Rome.* Some Historical Aspects. 1979. ISBN 90 04 05976 8
61. *Hieronymus' Liber de optimo genere interpretandi (Epistula 57).* Ein Kommentar von G.J.M. BARTELINK. 1980. ISBN 90 04 06085 5
63. HOHENDAHL-ZOETELIEF, I.M. *Manners in the Homeric Epic.* 1980. ISBN 90 04 06223 8
64. HARVEY, R.A. *A Commentary on Persius.* 1981. ISBN 90 04 06313 7
65. MAXWELL-STUART, P.G. *Studies in Greek Colour Terminology.* 1. γλαυκός. 1981. ISBN 90 04 06406 0
68. ACHARD, G. *Pratique rhétorique et idéologie politique dans les discours 'Optimates' de Cicéron.* 1981. ISBN 90 04 06374 9
69. MANNING, C.E. *On Seneca's 'Ad Marciam'.* 1981. ISBN 90 04 06430 3
70. BERTHIAUME, G. *Les rôles du Mágeiros.* Etude sur la boucherie, la cuisine et le sacrifice dans la Grèce ancienne. 1982. ISBN 90 04 06554 7
71. CAMPBELL, M. *A commentary on Quintus Smyrnaeus Posthomerica XII.* 1981. ISBN 90 04 06502 4
72. CAMPBELL, M. *Echoes and Imitations of Early Epic in Apollonius Rhodius.* 1981. ISBN 90 04 06503 2

73. MOSKALEW, W. *Formular Language and Poetic Design in the Aeneid.* 1982. ISBN 90 04 06580 6
74. RACE, W.H. *The Classical Priamel from Homer to Boethius.* 1982. ISBN 90 04 06515 6
75. MOORHOUSE, A.C. *The Syntax of Sophocles.* 1982. ISBN 90 04 06599 7
77. WITKE, C. *Horace's Roman Odes.* A Critical Examination. 1983. ISBN 90 04 07006 0
78. ORANJE, J. *Euripides' 'Bacchae'.* The Play and its Audience. 1984. ISBN 90 04 07011 7
79. STATIUS. *Thebaidos Libri XII.* Recensuit et cum apparatu critico et exegetico instruxit D.E. Hill. 1983. ISBN 90 04 06917 8
82. DAM, H.-J. VAN. *P. Papinius Statius, Silvae Book II.* A Commentary. 1984. ISBN 90 04 07110 5
84. OBER, J. *Fortress Attica. Defense of the Athenian Land Frontier, 404-322 B.C.* 1985. ISBN 90 04 07243 8
85. HUBBARD, T.K. *The Pindaric Mind.* A Study of Logical Structure in Early Greek Poetry. 1985. ISBN 90 04 07303 5
86. VERDENIUS, W.J. *A Commentary on Hesiod: Works and Days,* vv. 1-382. 1985. ISBN 90 04 07465 1
87. HARDER, A. *Euripides' 'Kresphontes' and 'Archelaos'.* Introduction, Text and Commentary. 1985. ISBN 90 04 07511 9
88. WILLIAMS, H.J. *The 'Eclogues' and 'Cynegetica' of Nemesianus.* Edited with an Introduction and Commentary. 1986. ISBN 90 04 07486 4
89. McGING, B.C. *The Foreign Policy of Mithridates VI Eupator, King of Pontus.* 1986. ISBN 90 04 07591 7
91. SIDEBOTHAM, S.E. *Roman Economic Policy in the Erythra Thalassa 30 B.C.-A.D. 217.* 1986. ISBN 90 04 07644 1
92. VOGEL, C.J. DE. *Rethinking Plato and Platonism.* 2nd impr. of the first (1986) ed. 1988. ISBN 90 04 08755 9
93. MILLER, A.M. *From Delos to Delphi.* A Literary Study of the Homeric Hymn to Apollo. 1986. ISBN 90 04 07674 3
94. BOYLE, A.J. *The Chaonian Dove.* Studies in the Eclogues, Georgics and Aeneid of Virgil. 1986. ISBN 90 04 07672 7
95. KYLE, D.G. *Athletics in Ancient Athens.* 2nd impr. of the first (1987) ed. 1993. ISBN 90 04 09759 7
97. VERDENIUS, W.J. *Commentaries on Pindar. Vol. I. Olympian Odes 3, 7, 12, 14.* 1987. ISBN 90 04 08126 7
98. PROIETTI, G. *Xenophon's Sparta.* An introduction. 1987. ISBN 90 04 08338 3
99. BREMER, J.M., A.M. VAN ERP TAALMAN KIP & S.R. SLINGS. *Some Recently Found Greek Poems.* Text and Commentary. 1987. ISBN 90 04 08319 7
100. OPHUIJSEN, J.M. VAN. *Hephaistion on Metre.* Translation and Commentary. 1987. ISBN 90 04 08452 5
101. VERDENIUS, W.J. *Commentaries on Pindar. Vol. II.* Olympian Odes 1, 10, 11, Nemean 11, Isthmian 2. 1988. ISBN 90 04 08535 1
102. LUSCHNIG, C.A.E. *Time holds the Mirror. A Study of Knowledge in Euripides' 'Hippolytus'.* 1988. ISBN 90 04 08601 3
103. MARCOVICH, M. *Alcestis Barcinonensis.* Text and Commentary. 1988. ISBN 90 04 08600 5
104. HOLT, F.L. *Alexander the Great and Bactria.* The Formation of a Greek Frontier in Central Asia. Repr. 1993. ISBN 90 04 08612 9
105. BILLERBECK, M. *Seneca's Tragödien; sprachliche und stilistische Untersuchungen.* Mit Anhängen zur Sprache des Hercules Oetaeus und der Octavia. 1988. ISBN 90 04 08631 5
106. ARENDS, J.F.M. *Die Einheit der Polis. Eine Studie über Platons Staat.* 1988. ISBN 90 04 08785 0
107. BOTER, G.J. *The Textual Tradition of Plato's Republic.* 1988. ISBN 90 04 08787 7
108. WHEELER, E.L. *Stratagem and the Vocabulary of Military Trickery.* 1988. ISBN 90 04 08831 8
109. BUCKLER, J. *Philip II and the Sacred War.* 1989. ISBN 90 04 09095 9
110. FULLERTON, M.D. *The Archaistic Style in Roman Statuary.* 1990. ISBN 90 04 09146 7
111. ROTHWELL, K.S. *Politics and Persuasion in Aristophanes' 'Ecclesiazusae'.* 1990. ISBN 90 04 09185 8
112. CALDER, W.M. & A. DEMANDT. *Eduard Meyer.* Leben und Leistung eines Universalhistorikers. 1990. ISBN 90 04 09131 9
113. CHAMBERS, M.H. *Georg Busolt. His Career in His Letters.* 1990. ISBN 90 04 09225 0
114. CASWELL, C.P. *A Study of 'Thumos' in Early Greek Epic.* 1990. ISBN 90 04 09260 9
115. EINGARTNER, J. *Isis und ihre Dienerinnen in der Kunst der Römischen Kaiserzeit.* 1991. ISBN 90 04 09312 5

116. JONG, I. DE. *Narrative in Drama.* The Art of the Euripidean Messenger-Speech. 1991. ISBN 90 04 09406 7
117. BOYCE, B.T. *The Language of the Freedmen in Petronius'* Cena Trimalchionis. 1991. ISBN 90 04 09431 8
118. RÜTTEN, Th. *Demokrit — lachender Philosoph und sanguinischer Melancholiker.* 1992. ISBN 90 04 09523 3
119. KARAVITES, P. (with the collaboration of Th. Wren). *Promise-Giving and Treaty-Making.* Homer and the Near East. 1992. ISBN 90 04 09567 5
120. SANTORO L'HOIR, F. *The Rhetoric of Gender Terms.* 'Man', 'Woman' and the portrayal of character in Latin prose. 1992. ISBN 90 04 09512 8
121. WALLINGA, H.T. *Ships and Sea-Power before the Great Persian War.* The Ancestry of the Ancient Trireme. 1993. ISBN 90 04 09650 7
122. FARRON, S. *Vergil's Æneid: A Poem of Grief and Love.* 1993. ISBN 90 04 09661 2
123. LÉTOUBLON, F. *Les lieux communs du roman.* Stéréotypes grecs d'aventure et d'amour. 1993. ISBN 90 04 09724 4
124. KUNTZ, M. *Narrative Setting and Dramatic Poetry.* 1993. ISBN 90 04 09784 8
125. THEOPHRASTUS. *Metaphysics.* With an Introduction, Translation and Commentary by Marlein van Raalte. 1993. ISBN 90 04 09786 4
126. THIERMANN, P. *Die* Orationes Homeri *des Leonardo Bruni Aretino.* Kritische Edition der lateinischen und kastilianischen Übersetzung mit Prolegomena und Kommentar. 1993. ISBN 90 04 09719 8
127. LEVENE, D.S. *Religion in Livy.* 1993. ISBN 90 04 09617 5
128. PORTER, J.R. *Studies in Euripides'* Orestes. 1993. ISBN 90 04 09662 0
129. SICKING, C.M.J. & J.M. VAN OPHUIJSEN. *Two Studies in Attic Particle Usage.* Lysias and Plato. 1993. ISBN 90 04 09867 4
130. JONG, I.J.F. DE, & J.P. SULLIVAN (eds.). *Modern Critical Theory and Classical Literature.* 1994. ISBN 90 04 09571 3
131. YAMAGATA, N. *Homeric Morality.* 1994. ISBN 90 04 09872 0
132. KOVACS, D. *Euripidea.* 1994. ISBN 90 04 09926 3
133. SUSSMAN, L.A. *The Declamations of Calpurnius Flaccus.* Text, Translation, and Commentary. 1994. ISBN 90 04 09983 2
134. SMOLENAARS, J.J.L. *Statius*: Thebaid VII. A Commentary. 1994. ISBN 90 04 10029 6
135. SMALL, D.B. (ed.). *Methods in the Mediterranean.* Historical and Archaeological Views on Texts and Archaeology. 1995. ISBN 90 04 09581 0
136. DOMINIK, W.J. *The Mythic Voice of Statius.* Power and Politics in the *Thebaid.* 1994. ISBN 90 04 09972 7
137. SLINGS, S.R. *Plato's Apology of Socrates.* A Literary and Philosophical Study with a Running Commentary. Edited and Completed from the Papers of the Late E. DE STRYCKER, s.j. 1994. ISBN 90 04 10103 9
138. FRANK, M. *Seneca's* Phoenissae. Introduction and Commentary. 1995. ISBN 90 04 09776 7
139. MALKIN, I. & Z.W. RUBINSOHN (eds.). *Leaders and Masses in the Roman World.* Studies in Honor of Zvi YAVETZ. 1995. ISBN 90 04 09917 4
140. SEGAL, A. *Theatres in Roman Palestine and Provincia Arabia.* 1995. ISBN 90 04 10145 4
141. CAMPBELL, M. *A Commentary on Apollonius Rhodius* Argonautica III 1-471. 1994. ISBN 90 04 10158 6
142. DEFOREST, M.M. *Apollonius'* Argonautica: *A Callimachean Epic.* 1994. ISBN 90 04 10017 2
143. WATSON, P.A. *Ancient Stepmothers.* Myth, Misogyny and Reality. 1995. ISBN 90 04 10176 4
144. SULLIVAN, S.D. *Psychological and Ethical Ideas.* What Early Greeks Say. 1995. ISBN 90 04 10185 3
145. CARGILL, J. *Athenian Settlements of the Fourth Century B.C.* 1995. ISBN 90 04 09991 3
146. PANAYOTAKIS, C. *Theatrum Arbitri.* Theatrical Elements in the *Satyrica* of Petronius. 1995. ISBN 90 04 10229 9
147. GARRISON, E.P. *Groaning Tears.* Ethical and Dramatic Aspects of Suicide in Greek Tragedy. 1995. 90 04 10241 8
148. OLSON, S.D. *Blood and Iron.* Stories and Storytelling in Homer's *Odyssey.* 1995. ISBN 90 04 10251 5
149. VINOGRADOV, J.G.& S.D. KRYŽICKIJ (eds.). *Olbia.* Eine altgriechische Stadt im Nordwestlichen Schwarzmeerraum. 1995. ISBN 90 04 09677 9
150. MAURER, K. *Interpolation in Thucydides.* 1995. ISBN 90 04 10300 7
151. HORSFALL, N. (ed.) *A Companion to the Study of Virgil.* 1995 ISBN 90 04 09559 4

152. KNIGHT, V.H. *The Renewal of Epic.* Responses to Homer in the *Argonautica* of Apollonius. 1995. ISBN 90 04 10386 4
153. LUSCHNIG, C.A.E. *The Gorgon's Severed Head.* Studies of *Alcestis, Electra,* and *Phoenissae.* 1995. ISBN 90 04 10382 1
154. NAVARRO ANTOLÍN, F. (ed.). *Lygdamus.* Corpus Tibullianum III. 1-6: Lygdami elegiarum liber. Translated by J.J. Zoltowski. 1996. ISBN 90 04 10210 8
155. MATTHEWS, V.J. *Antimachus of Colophon.* Text and Commentary. 1996. ISBN 90 04 10468 2
156. TREISTER, M.Y. *The Role of Metals in Ancient Greek History.* 1996. ISBN 90 04 10473 9
157. WORTHINGTON, I. (ed.). *Voice into Text.* Orality and Literacy in Ancient Greece. 1996. ISBN 90 04 10431 3
158. WIJSMAN, H.J.W. *Valerius Flaccus,* Argonautica, *Book V.* A Commentary. 1996. ISBN 90 04 10506 9
159. SCHMELING, G. (ed.). *The Novel in the Ancient World.* 1996. ISBN 90 04 09630 2
160. SICKING, C.M.J. & P. STORK. *Two Studies in the Semantics of the Verb in Classical Greek.* 1996. ISBN 90 04 10460 7
161. KOVACS, D. *Euripidea Altera.* 1996. ISBN 90 04 10624 3
162. GERA, D. *Warrior Women.* The Anonymous Tractatus *De Mulieribus.* 1997. ISBN 90 04 10665 0
163. MORRIS, I. & B. POWELL (eds.). *A New Companion to Homer.* 1997. ISBN 90 04 09989 1
164. ORLIN, E.M. *Temples, Religion and Politics in the Roman Republic.* 1997.ISBN 90 04 10708 8
165. ALBRECHT, M. VON. *A History of Roman Literature.* From Livius Andronicus to Boethius with Special Regard to Its Influence on World Literature. 2 Vols.Revised by G.Schmeling and by the Author. Vol. 1: Translated with the Assistance of F. and K. Newman, Vol. 2: Translated with the Assitance of R.R. Caston and F.R. Schwartz. 1997. ISBN 90 04 10709 6 (Vol. 1), ISBN 90 04 10711 8 (Vol. 2), ISBN 90 04 10712 6 (Set)
166. DIJK, J.G.M. VAN. Αἶνοι, Λόγοι, Μῦθοι. Fables in Archaic, Classical, and Hellenistic Greek Literature. With a Study of the Theory and Terminology of the Genre. 1997. ISBN 90 04 10747 9
167. MAEHLER, H. (Hrsg.). *Die Lieder des Bakchylides.* Zweiter Teil: Die Dithyramben und Fragmente. Text, Übersetzung und Kommentar. 1997. ISBN 90 04 10671 5
168. DILTS, M. & G.A. KENNEDY (eds.). *Two Greek Rhetorical Treatises from the Roman Empire.* Introduction, Text, and Translation of the Arts of Rhetoric Attributed to Anonymous Seguerianus and to Apsines of Gadara. 1997. ISBN 90 04 10728 2
169. GÜNTHER, H.-C. *Quaestiones Propertianae.* 1997. ISBN 90 04 10793 2
170. HEINZE, T. (Hrsg.). *P. Ovidius Naso. Der XII. Heroidenbrief: Medea an Jason.* Einleitung, Text und Kommentar. Mit einer Beilage: Die Fragmente der Tragödie *Medea.* 1997. ISBN 90 04 10800 9
171. BAKKER, E.J. (ed.). *Grammar as Interpretation.* Greek Literature in its Linguistic Contexts. 1997. ISBN 90 04 10730 4
172. GRAINGER, J.D. *A Seleukid Prosopography and Gazetteer.* 1997. ISBN 90 04 10799 1
173. GERBER, D.E. (ed.). *A Companion to the Greek Lyric Poets.* 1997. ISBN 90 04 09944 1
174. SANDY, G. *The Greek World of Apuleius.* Apuleius and the Second Sophistic. 1997. ISBN 90 04 10821 1
175. ROSSUM-STEENBEEK, M. VAN. *Greek Readers' Digests?* Studies on a Selection of Subliterary Papyri. 1998. ISBN 90 04 10953 6
176. McMAHON, J.M. *Paralysin Cave.* Impotence, Perception, and Text in the *Satyrica* of Petronius. 1998. ISBN 90 04 10825 4
177. ISAAC, B. *The Near East under Roman Rule.* Selected Papers. 1998. ISBN 90 04 10736 3
178. KEEN, A.G. *Dynastic Lycia.* A Political History of the Lycians and Their Relations with Foreign Powers, c. 545-362 B.C. 1998. ISBN 90 04 10956 0
179. GEORGIADOU, A. & D.H.J. LARMOUR. *Lucian's Science Fiction Novel* True Histories. Interpretation and Commentary. 1998. ISBN 90 04 10667 7
180. GÜNTHER, H.-C. *Ein neuer metrischer Traktat und das Studium der pindarischen Metrik in der Philologie der Paläologenzeit.* 1998. ISBN 90 04 11008 9
181. HUNT, T.J. *A Textual History of Cicero's* Academici Libri. 1998. ISBN 90 04 10970 6
182. HAMEL, D. *Athenian Generals.* Military Authority in the Classical Period. 1998. ISBN 90 04 10900 5